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The Teaching of History and Other Papers

BY

H. L. WITHERS

*Late Sarah Fielden Professor of Education
in Owens College, Manchester*

*Edited with Biographical
Introduction and a
Selection from his Letters*

BY
J. H. FOWLER
Clifton College.

MANCHESTER
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PREFATORY NOTE.

IT has seemed to some of the friends of the late Professor H. L. WITHERS, that they might honour the memory, and extend the usefulness, of a life that, measured by years, was all too short, if they put together some of his writings on subjects that lay near to his heart, together with such extracts from his letters and such a brief biographical sketch as might suffice to recall to those who knew him a personality of wonderful charm, and give to others at least some faint impression of what he was.

The Editor owes, and hereby tenders, his best thanks to those who have aided him either by direct contributions to the Memoir or by the loan of letters and permission to make extracts, to Mr Hartley Withers, without whose sympathy and assistance the volume could hardly have been undertaken, to Mr. P A Barnett and Messrs. Longmans for permission to reprint the paper on "Ancient History Teaching" from "Teaching and Organisation", to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press and the late London School Board for a similar permission in the case of the two papers that follow, to the editors and proprietors of the *Contemporary Review* and *Child Life* for the use of the papers on "New Authorities in English Education" and "Work and Play" respectively, and to Miss Williams, of the Franco-English Guild, for the summary of the lecture on Bacon.

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Memoir

MEMOIR.

HARRY LIVINGSTON WITHERS was born in Liverpool on Dec. 1st, 1864. He was the third son of Mr. H. H. Withers **CHILDHOOD.** of Spring Croft. Whilst he was still a child his parents removed to London, and he was sent to King's College School. He was one of a large family ; and as his father and mother were both members of large families also, he was unusually rich in relations. He grew up with strong attachments to his kindred, and his boyish affection for so many relatives of various ages and tastes doubtless fostered the faculty for appreciating and liking almost everyone whom he met which was characteristic of his maturer life. Of his childish tastes the one chiefly remembered is a military ardour which lasted till he was thirteen or fourteen. He was never so happy as when he was given stories of battle or histories of war. His ambition altered later ; before he went to Oxford he seems to have looked forward

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to the career of a schoolmaster. But the interest of his childhood to a certain extent coloured the whole of his after-years. It is scarcely fanciful to trace it in that erect soldierly bearing which left a striking impression upon those who made his acquaintance in early manhood. It was unmistakeable in his life-long attachment to the Volunteer service, in his study of military history, in the keenness with which he found time to follow all the details of the South African war, and, finally, in his favourite habit of representing human life to himself and to his pupils under the figure of warfare.

Of his life at King's College School it is fortunately possible to reconstruct some picture from the impressions of **SCHOOLDAYS**. Two distinguished schoolfellows, Mr. R. McKenna, M.P., writes as follows:—

"Not many memories bear so fresh a stamp as the early impressions of an affectionate school friendship. In 1880 when I first became intimate with Harry Withers

at King's College School he was already marked out as the most promising classical scholar we had: not yet at the top, but rising fast, and much younger than most of his competitors. I knew him well by reputation before we came together in the same class. He said good things which were quoted by other boys, very good we thought them, humorous and with a spice of impudence, and they ran the round of the school. He was a little fellow at that time, rather slight and delicate in body, but healthy in colour and always good-humoured and cheery. He had a habit of drollery not a bit in keeping with his strenuous work, and I remember with what surprise I discovered that the underlying tone of his mind was wholly serious. His work was his first thought. With a view to obtaining a scholarship at Balliol he made it his special aim to acquire literary facility, sparing no pains to develop his considerable natural gifts of expression. For example, in conjunction with one of his schoolfellows, he set himself the task of

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writing a weekly essay on some selected topic; each treated the subject independently, and at the end of the week essays were exchanged for the purpose of criticism. Yet his work bore none of the marks of laborious effort ; he had originality, he worked easily, and he found genuine pleasure in his daily task. Very noticeable in him was the absence of ambition in the ordinary sense . when we talked of the future he never expressed any other wish than to learn and to teach. After leaving school we saw each other but rarely--our occupations have kept us apart—but when from time to time we met and talked of the past and the present I used to feel how thoroughly he had realised the purpose which he had put before himself in boyhood."

Mr H. W. Blunt, Fellow of Christ Church, who was his contemporary at school and at Oxford, writes :—

"I was with H. L. Withers at King's in Middle Third and again in Sixth Form Room. In the former as in the latter he

was nearly youngest. As a little boy he was not, I think, particularly industrious, relying too much on the possession of a quick brain. He was of a sunny temperament, and a high temper. A bit of a chatterbox. Popular in a rag or a discussion alike, though not athletic and somewhat shy. Later he was a hard worker, his eyes showing tired and strained. A good raconteur but with flashes of silence. The wit rather than the humourist of his circle—a post usurped by his friend R. McKenna. He was somewhat reserved except among his intimates, and these were mostly the butterflies rather than the ants and bees of the sixth. He was in search of a style when he came into the sixth, and the results were curious at first, but the motto ‘Let the galled jade wince’ came more and more to be noted and feared. His first successes were in French—where he was for some three years easily first. He acted in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* at Xmas ’79, while his first appearance in Greek Play was in the *Frogs* in ’80 in the somewhat

humble part of *Euripi*des. As early as '80 a discerning examiner had picked him out while still in the Under Sixth as the best Latin versifier among the pack of us—and he did not go up to Balliol, if my memory serves me, till '83. It was rather a surprise to us that he did not take more of the University prizes. But I think that his high strung temperament is one that always goes with a certain delicacy of health. Not that he was not sound enough, but he took a great deal out of himself then and always. As to the mark he made in the life of the place, he was not an athlete, his work was a thing he seldom talked about, and he was at all times by preference a laughing philosopher. But his friends swore by him. He was not puritanical, and his winged words could be picturesque enough. But they were most unstinted at mean things. He had then, as after, everyone's trust. He wore 'the white flower of a blameless life.' Alas! that 'whom the gods love die young.'"

Professor J. W. Hales, of King's College,

took the Sixth Form of King's College School in English literature and essays. To these lessons Withers looked back with a special pleasure and gratitude. "Writing essays for you," he told Professor Hales in a letter in 1887, "and listening to your criticisms on the matter and manner of them did more, I think, for my education than anything else." This seems to be the only direct testimony to the influences of his school-days that remains on record, but those who heard his Inaugural Lecture at Owens College will remember some words of its concluding passage that may appropriately be quoted here: "When we look back at our own school-days we remember that what really signified to us and quickened us was some touch of genius, some stroke of wit, some proof of sympathy, some evidence of genuine passion for what is great in literature or science, or maybe some personal oddity or quaintness in a forcible character." Professor Hales, on his part, has recorded his impressions of Withers:—

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"He was one of the most brilliant pupils I ever had, and some highly distinguished scholars have passed through the Sixth Form at King's College School, London; as the Rev. Dr. Gow, now Headmaster of Westminster, the Rev. Professor Chase, D.D., President of Queen's College, Cambridge, Mr. A. W. Pollard, of the British Museum, Mr. Sidney Low, the well-known publicist, and many others of equal or scarcely less note. Withers was both receptive and original in a remarkable degree. He was eagerly attentive always, but at the same time maintained his independence, and thought for himself, not acquiescing in anything simply because his teacher said it, or till he had carefully revolved it; this critical attitude, however, never being *in the least* impertinent or disrespectful. He was an altogether delightful pupil."

In November, 1882, Withers was elected to an open classical scholarship at Balliol,
OXFORD. and in October of the following year he went into residence at

Oxford. He took a first-class in Classical Moderations in 1884, and a first-class in *Literae Humaniores* in 1887. One of his closest friends at Balliol, Mr. George Macdonald, of Glasgow, has furnished the following account of his undergraduate career —

"When Withers first came up, it would not have been easy to predict where he was ultimately to find his closest friends. Apart from the prestige that naturally attached to him as a scholar, his qualities were such as would have made him popular in any circle. His knowledge of the world and his mastery of the art of good-natured repartee, enabled him to hold his own everywhere, while a quick and instinctive sympathy speedily put him on terms with those whom others found *difficile* or uninteresting. These characteristics were prominent throughout his undergraduate life. While his deepest intimacy was reserved for two or three, he was greatly liked by all, and up to the end he would often be met taking walks with

men who, but for his companionship, would have been solitary.

"The first year and a half witnessed no marked development. He was thoroughly happy in College life and companionship. But the work for Moderations was so well within his powers, that it never appealed to him as very serious. On the other hand, although he several times competed for the Hertford and the Ireland, he had not sufficient interest in 'pure scholarship' to lead him to devote much time to its cultivation. He cared, indeed, a good deal for Latin poetry. But he had early acquired a love of English literature, and his knowledge of it was constantly deepening. Shakespeare had long been a favourite, and now he read and re-read him with ever-increasing insight, carrying off almost as a matter of course the College Shakespeare prize. He read the lesser Elizabethans too, but they failed to stir him to enthusiasm. In novels, as in plays, his appreciation was intense rather than catholic. He certainly had no patience

with second or third rate work. I have seen him take a novel he did not like, and thrust it bodily between the bars of the grate.

"So soon as he began to read for Greats, a notable change took place. The work proved deeply interesting, and it speedily absorbed almost all his intellectual energies. The picturesque and human elements in history attracted him, as they had always done. And in philosophy there was a great awakening. His imagination was touched by the possibilities of metaphysical speculation. For awhile he seemed to be actually afraid that he would lose his hold of reality altogether. Jowett tried to administer comfort in the shape of the common-sense philosophy in which he had by that time come to believe profoundly. To Withers, however, in his then state of mind, this was simply unmeaning. He had perforce to struggle on until he reached firm ground for himself. His guide was Nettleship, the memory of whose teaching remained for him to the end a never-failing source of inspiration. Once a

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foothold had been gained on the speculative side, he was free to work out the ethical problems which so readily presented themselves to one of his strong practical turn of mind. It was no surprise to his intimate friends when he decided to begin his teaching career in an elementary school.

"As an undergraduate, he took a healthy interest in games of all kinds. But he had not the physical aptitude necessary for very active participation. At tennis, which he played regularly in the summer term, he was handicapped by his shortness of sight. A good match, either at cricket or at football, he would watch with keen enjoyment. He was fond too of the river. But it was perhaps in long walks that he took most real pleasure. Practically every fine Sunday in term time he would start early with one friend or with two, and spend all day in the country, returning to his rooms only in the late afternoon or early evening. On these occasions, at least in his later years at Oxford, the talk turned chiefly on one or other of the

many philosophical questions in which he was interested. Political matters were sometimes discussed also. In those days he was an ardent Liberal, often speaking on that side in the Brakenbury Debating Society, of which he was in due course president. As a speaker, he was hampered somewhat by nervousness. But in reply he was always effective, and often extremely amusing. So far as I recollect, he never took part in a Union debate, and hardly ever even attended one: to public speaking, for its own sake, he attached little importance.

"This statement of facts as they present themselves to recollection, seems sadly meagre and inadequate. It fails altogether to convey any idea of that in which the chief strength of his character lay—the happy combination of the *θεωρητικός* and the *πρακτικός*.¹ And it has taken no account of the singular charm of his personality—his genuineness, his wit, his quaint humour. All of these were as conspicuous in his undergraduate

1. 'Philosopher' and 'practical man'—Ed

days as in after life. The spiritual earnestness that his most intimate friends were privileged to see, was there too. Lastly, there was an element which naturally had freer play there than was possible afterwards—the high spirits that sometimes broke out when he felt thoroughly well, or was conscious of the sheer joy of living. This was generally when he was in closest contact with Nature, which he loved so well,—away in the open country, or most of all, perhaps, when tumbling in the waters of a lake or of the sea ”

Withers' reverence and affection in later years for R. L Nettleship, as the Oxford tutor to whom he owed most, may be gathered from the two striking extracts from letters printed below in his correspondence (Nos. III., IV.). Few of his friends will read them without feeling that in describing his master the disciple unconsciously described himself. There must have been a strong affinity of spirit between the two men, however much of the likeness we attribute to the

direct influence of the older upon the younger. To another of the Balliol dons, W. H. Forbes, he also became strongly attached, and the friendship lasted through life.

In the summer of 1887 he took a holiday tutorship in the house of a Harrow sixth-

FIRST EXPERIENCES IN TEACHING. form boy, and then returned to Oxford to teach in an elementary school. He was influenced, partly, it would seem, by the desire to study the problems of education experimentally from the beginning, and partly from the strong democratic sympathy which all his life impelled him, though no one ever made less profession of it, to work for the less fortunate masses rather than for the well-to-do. The course he took was, for an University man, more daring and original than it would be at the present day. It is quite possible that he and his friend F. S. Marvin, now H.M. Inspector of Schools, were the two first University men of distinction in England to become elementary school-masters. It was characteristic of him, too,

that, in spite of his attachment to the Church of England, in which he had been brought up, he went to teach in a Wesleyan school. Of the headmaster of this school, Mr. Richardson, he always spoke with respect and affection. To this time belongs one of the too fragmentary note-books that survive among his papers. It was to be called "Sparks from the Anvil," and his intention was to record in it the humours that diversify and enliven the routine-life of an elementary school. One brief entry may be quoted. The inspector had asked a question about "the use of the globes." One urchin alone held up a responsive hand. Receiving encouragement, he answered with the mono-syllable, "Gas."

After half-a-year of this work Withers accepted a temporary mastership at the City of London School, where his character and ability profoundly impressed Dr. Abbott, then drawing to the close of his long head-mastership. From Dr. Abbott, too, he learnt a good deal, finding himself in close

sympathy with that headmaster's studies in theology and English literature.

In the summer of 1888 Dr. (then Mr.) Glazebrook became High Master of **MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL.** One of his first acts was to offer a post to Withers, whose acquaintance he had made in the previous year. For what followed we have Dr. Glazebrook's own testimony : -

"At first he had charge of a number of new boys, who, for various reasons, were not fit for any form. He taught them individually until they could be drafted off into regular classes. Here his experience in all-round teaching at an elementary school proved of great service. He took them in all subjects, and for almost the whole day, but without friction or boredom. Upon some of them he gained an influence which lasted through their school lives. After a short time he took a classical form, and acted as classical tutor to those sixth form boys who were specialising in science or mathematics. His form very

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soon became the most vigorous in the school, both in work and in play. It is hard to describe the nature of his influence on them. He was no athlete, and his calm, slow manner lacked the superficial brightness which boys like I think his power lay in extreme clearness, in force of character, and, above all, in sympathy. These elements made it a pleasure to hear him give a lesson, although there was nothing brilliant or striking in what he said. The sixth form "barbarians," for whom it was a new thing to do any literary work, were inclined at first to resent his demands upon them. But his quiet, kindly power very soon made them willing subjects "

The imperfect physique and difficult conditions of life of many of the town-bred boys under his care troubled him, and he devoted much thought to the question of their healthy physical development. In his own classical fourth form he introduced the practice of "five minutes' dumb-belling" in the middle of an hours' lesson, and he was

satisfied that he obtained good results from it.

In the Easter holidays he used to join a colleague in taking away a small party of Grammar School boys into the country—Derbyshire, the Lake District, the Isle of Man. On these expeditions, or on such flights into the country with colleagues as a short mid-term holiday permitted, he was at his best—the life of the party, full of merriment and good-fellowship, full of delight in Nature, yet revealing on occasion his deep interest in literature and philosophy, and his spiritual earnestness. It was a great privilege to be of his company then, a still greater to be one of the friends who, in those years of growing seriousness, but as yet not of overwhelming stress, shared the long summer holiday with him in Norway or Switzerland. What such a holiday meant to him, how much of himself he gave at these times to his friends and to those who attracted him among the chance companions of travel, may be guessed from the lines he wrote in September, 1891, in imitation of Clough's

“Amours de Voyage.” They will be found below, among his letters.

It is to these holidays that one's thoughts return most frequently as one tries to sum up one's impression of what he was, and what he achieved, in those four years of his life at Manchester. After all, his inestimable value to the school lay chiefly in the unconscious influence of a real personality. His geniality, humour, and good-comradeship won for him the affection of many of his colleagues; the high ideals to which his own life was manifestly loyal, uplifted all, boys and masters, who came under his spell. One special service which he rendered the Manchester School must not be passed over, even in this brief retrospect. He edited the school magazine *Ulula* for six months only, but in that short time he infused a new and vigorous life into it which fortunately outlasted his editorship. He saw that the Manchester Grammar School boy was open to literary influences, just as he had been in the days of De Quincey, to a degree very unusual in

boys ; and he successfully used the magazine to foster that *esprit de corps* which is, of necessity, a somewhat difficult plant to rear in a large town day-school. His own contributions to *Ulula* included a delightful account of Manchester Grammar School, which he professed to have obtained through "Dr. Wasweissichnicht, of the University of Gottingen," from the report of an envoy despatched from Thibet to report on the chief schools of Great Britain. One of the inspirations of this article is the compound "demon-boil-and-scream-procession-waggon," with the footnote of the Gottingen Professor that "this word, apparently a Thibetan paraphrase for 'train,' sounds better in German than in English."

Dr. Glazebrook had been appointed Headmaster of Clifton College in the winter of CLIFTON COLLEGE 1890, and he persuaded Withers to follow him there in September, 1892. "Part of his work," Dr. Glazebrook writes, "was to teach boys of nine and ten in our Preparatory School. This he did

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with great success, because he won their hearts by his kindness and their attention by his clear, slow exposition. At the same time he taught history to the classical sixth form. He very soon inspired them with great enthusiasm for the subject, largely, I think, by treating them as collaborators in discovery." He was also house-tutor in the School-House. The impression that Clifton made upon him, and the impression that he made upon Clifton, in the two short terms that he spent there, were both striking. "In many respects," he wrote afterwards to a friend, "work there is in ideal surroundings. The Boys are, on the whole, I think, the best set of people I ever had anything to do with. The Masters are tremendously good fellows and devoted, body and soul, to the place." To the same friend he expressed his admiration of the best boys in the School-House, "strong and serious and quiet, and splendidly devoted to the House and School." His duties in the Preparatory School were the least to his

taste. "The little boys in the Preparatory," he wrote, "are nice little chaps for the most part, but I have not yet adjusted myself properly to teaching them, and they try my patience and temper very much." Greatly as he enjoyed the Clifton life, and intensely as he admired the spirit of the place, he did not altogether reconcile himself to the absorbing demands of a public school upon its masters. He had a fear that these demands made it difficult for a man to keep his own intellectual life vigorous. He would never have made the mistake of confining his own interests to the class-room, the house and the close. "One helps boys more by living one's own life than by continually trying to live down to theirs," had been a saying of his Manchester days. Still, the conflict of duties—the immediate duty to the school, and the duty to oneself, which is indirectly a duty to others and even to one's pupils—was a real one to him. In any event, therefore, he would probably not have cared to remain a public-school master.

for more than a few years. His friends, at least, anticipated that after a period of probation at Clifton he would succeed to the head-mastership of one of the great day-schools, and they took pleasure in the thought of what he might accomplish in such a position, by achievement and by example, for English middle-class education and the happiness and welfare of English middle-class boys.

But he was destined to serve the cause of education in other and still wider ways. He had been scarcely two terms **ISLEWORTH**. at Clifton when he was urged by Dr. Jowett and others who believed that he possessed the qualifications necessary for a peculiarly difficult post to stand for the Principalship of the Borough Road Training College for Elementary Teachers at Isleworth. He visited the College, saw the committee, and was elected. On March 12, 1893, he wrote from Clifton to the friend who had shared his experience of elementary teaching at Oxford :—“Would I might rise

to the occasion and do the work as it ought to be done! You must now return to your long-abandoned correspondence with me, for we shall have a thousand interests in common. Would I were worthier of the place!" Such was the spirit in which he entered upon his "six strenuous years" of service at Isleworth. His predecessor, Mr. P. A. Barnett, who had administered the college with conspicuous success, continued to reside in the neighbourhood; and the relations between the two men were marked by a cordiality and intimacy too seldom found under such circumstances. From the first Mr. Barnett was "guide, philosopher, and friend" to the new Principal, who was never weary of acknowledging his debt to Mr. Barnett's kindly wisdom. What Mr. Barnett, on his part, thought of his successor, and of his work at Isleworth, he shall tell us in his own words:—

"Withers' association with the systematic training of teachers was very much a matter of accident, but whatever may have been the

ἀδηλός αἰτία,¹ the progress of English educational science and practice has been very considerably influenced by it.

"He did more than any other man to bring the liberal University spirit into the business. There were men before him trained in English Universities who did good work in the preparation of teachers for their profession, but most of them had not enough real philosophy, perhaps also not enough courage, to shake themselves free from a rather paltry conception of educational science, and from narrow official traditions which made the colleges a sort of superior 'seventh standard.' Withers was not only a student of Literæ Humaniores; he had also the excellent sense to see that nothing but a sound philosophy, a right way of looking at *life*, a real 'all-roundness,' could settle any of the vexed questions of practical education. And so far as he could work on the material provided for him, he tried to communicate this habit of mind to his pupils.

1. 'Hidden cause'—*Ed*

"When the Headship of the Isleworth College was likely to become vacant, the retiring Principal sent particulars to Jowett and Lewis Nettleship, and asked for their help and suggestions as to a successor. They were aware of what had been already attempted, and were very warm friends of the endeavour to liberalise the curriculum and discipline of the primary training colleges. Both of them suggested Withers as the right man for the post, and particulars were sent to him. When he came up from Clifton to make enquiries about it, we were much struck by his frankness and insight. He gained immediate goodwill and confidence by asking the right questions; he always did.

"He took over a very difficult business. Only those who have tried to run a Training College for teachers in public elementary schools can know how exhausting it is. It is certain that his long six strenuous years at Isleworth shortened his life, making it harder for him to stand the strain of serious illness when it came.

"He changed nothing until he had given it a fair trial, and he changed nothing that he did not improve. He was as loyal to his predecessor as to everyone else. It is not easy to make clear to a lay public the significance of the details of his work. Only those who have had business in those great waters know what it means to make "notes of lessons" more intelligent, to give reality to "criticism lessons," to systematic school practice, and the careful supervision of teachers. He was no friend of the quacks who suppose that a teacher can be taught to give a lesson in the one and only right way to all and sundry pupils. To make a good teacher he knew that he had to educate the whole man. Nor did anyone ever hear him talk about "cultivating the faculties"—whether of observation or anything else. His conception of his task was to get his teachers to satisfy themselves clearly about the condition of their pupils' minds, and to guide their working sympathetically to new enterprises and effort.

"In the administration of his college his merit and his defect was his trustfulness. Himself a right generous man, he made no preparation to deal with meanness occasionally, therefore, he met meanness that dispirited him beyond understanding. Himself the most loyal of souls, he was now and then left in the lurch by someone who should have died in a ditch for him and been proud of it. Believing other people to be better than himself, his shyness and reserve often lost him the warm affection which came freely to him from those who knew his truly lowly habit of thought.

"He rarely spoke severely of anyone, he would not talk of things he disliked. What he brooked least easily was the vulgarity of the self-seeking professional 'educationist' of whatever 'grade.' There were some kinds of vulgarity that deprived him of words.

"What little remains of his printed work, good as it is, is nothing to the suggestiveness of his talk, whether on educational or other subjects. He often seemed to go straight to

the root of things when other folk were bemused with somethings that somebodies had said about them.

"All through his official life he declined the praise and prizes that should have been his, and distributed the leaves of his own proper wreath amongst his friends. To hear Withers talk, you might sometimes have thought that the only man who did nothing for education or his fellows was himself.

"Everyone that had dealings with him felt that here was a man. He failed to secure liking only where there was nothing to respond to his own fine qualities. He will be remembered as most great teachers are remembered, not so much by his written words, as by his personal teaching and spirit and example, and when he is no longer *vivus per ora*, all grades of Education will be profiting by his good sense and his healthy belief in the systematic training of men and women for the work they have to do. He had not read his 'Republic' for nothing."

Of testimony to the fine quality and

abiding influence of Withers' work at Isleworth there has been no lack. It was indeed not the less valuable because he did not himself regard it as successful. The 'offences that must needs come,' he took to heart with that intense pain which was inevitable for a nature at once deeply sympathetic with human frailty, and passionately attached to high ideals. Again, he was absolutely sincere in word and deed : it was impossible for him to be guilty of the compromises which most men in positions of responsibility accept as the unavoidable sacrifice to their situation. Nor were his motives, though so singularly honest, always easily intelligible to those he ruled. His mind was 'philosophical' to a degree which the average man can scarcely comprehend. In the simplest decisions on the most ordinary questions he seemed to be always going back to 'first principles.' In this trait he was a true disciple of R. L. Nettleship, who had influenced him more profoundly than any other of his teachers. To himself, then, he seemed unsuccessful.

"I have not the kingly qualities," he said, with that touching modesty which confessed itself to his most intimate friends, and remains in their memory as one of his deepest and noblest characteristics. In no sense was his administration of Isleworth a failure, but if it were, it must still have been one of those 'high failures' that 'overleap the bounds of low successes.'

In the autumn of 1899 the Sarah Fielden Professorship of Education was founded at **OWENS COLLEGE**. Owens College, Manchester, and Withers was invited to fill it. He was eminently fitted for the post, qualified for it, not merely by his singularly wide experience, but by an almost unique combination of sympathy with the scientific spirit in education, the demand for training and method, and a devotion to humane letters and the best elements of the scholastic tradition. Three years (it was all that was left to him of life) is all too short a time in which to leave a permanent mark on English education. But in his new sphere he per-

formed incredibly much. "Between the two types of university teacher," writes his colleague, Mr. Thiselton Mark, "by no means mutually exclusive, the one who lives mainly for his subject, and the one who lives mainly for his students--the scholar on the one hand and the teacher and trainer of men on the other--Professor Withers held a sort of middle position." One might almost say that he tried to do the work of both types of men, and the work of a third type, the public man, and broke down under the triple strain. No professor was ever more faithful to the scientific ideal. Confused thinking, lack of arrangement, slipshod generalization--these things were intolerable to him. And no conviction was deeper with him than that the subject of which he had been made Professor needed to be studied as a science with a thoroughness hitherto unknown in England. But, again, the human interest was strong in him, too--the sympathy that made him seek to be helpful to his students in all sorts of ways, and that showed itself in his lectures.

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in such practical counsels as "Begin at the boy's end." He threw himself, then, actively into the life of the College. But in the ferment of the educational world he could not be suffered to rest in the duties of study and of teaching.

The province of the new Professorship was necessarily somewhat undefined, and there was no limit either to the possibilities of usefulness it seemed to present or to the number and variety of the calls that were made upon him. A few only of the special services that he rendered can be mentioned here. He took a large share in organising an education department in connection with the British Association. At the request of the London School Board he drew up the Memorandum on the Teaching of History which is reprinted in this volume. In the University of which he was Professor he obtained the recognition of "Education" as one of the qualifying subjects for a pass degree in Arts, and as one of the optional subjects which may be taken either at the

intermediate or final stage in a Science degree course. When a Committee for the Registration of Teachers was instituted by the Board of Education, he was nominated a member by the Lord President of Council, and the Committee unanimously elected him to be their first Chairman. He could with difficulty be persuaded to accept the post, but, when once he had consented, he "took up the work," as a colleague on the Committee has said, 'with whole-hearted industry, and the time and devotion he gave to the intricate and delicate task of guiding the Council in building up the Register must have been a great drain upon even his great powers of endurance."

But this was not all. He was invited to examine secondary schools and report upon the teaching, to distribute prizes, to deliver addresses to schoolmasters in conference, to advise a multitude of correspondents on a multiplicity of subjects. Too kind-hearted as well as too conscientious to refuse where there seemed a chance of being serviceable,

he strove to do everything that was asked of him. And the tragedy of it all was that he who laid such stress on method in his teaching, and taught it so excellently to others, had little method in his own work ; so that the endeavour to fulfil his engagements often put a strain upon him that forethought could have avoided.

He had never married, and though not a few of his friends were anxious about this ever-increasing strain, none had the power to persuade him to take proper care of himself. Yet social and domestic life meant much more to one of his affectionate nature than to the average man. At Isleworth he had made a home for his father and mother, and his eldest sister had kept house for him. At Manchester he lived in the house of Dr. England, Warden of Hulme Hall (a Hall of Residence for students of Owens College), an old friend, and the father of a favourite pupil of his Manchester Grammar School days. He delighted the Hulme Hall students with his bright talk at

their dinner-table, his flow of wit, his imitable story-telling ; delighted them not less by his skill in the tennis-court, where he was often to be found before breakfast, and by the atmosphere of good fellowship that always surrounded him. When he could be induced to spend a social evening with friends and colleagues, his brilliancy of talk, while it charmed everybody, proved what enjoyment he himself drew from such gatherings. He took a keen interest in the Volunteer movement, and, had his life been spared a little longer, he was to have been promoted to the rank of Captain, and given the command of the Owens College Company.

For literary work he had never found time on a scale on which it would have been possible to do justice to his powers. All that he did, however, is interesting and fully stamped with his own individuality. In his first Manchester period he had edited a small collection of English ballads for a school series of Messrs. Rivington. At Isleworth he had edited the *Merchant of Venice* for the

“Warwick Shakespeare,” and written the paper on the teaching of history, reprinted in the present volume, for Mr. Barnett’s “Teaching and Organisation,” and one on the relation of primary to secondary schools, for Dr. Scott’s book, “What is Secondary Education?” During the tenure of his Professorship, he wrote the article reprinted in this volume from the *Contemporary Review*, one or two papers on the training of teachers, several lectures, and a few reviews for educational periodicals.

Professor S. Alexander, who was intimately associated with him in his work at Owens College, has very kindly contributed the following estimate by way of supplement to what has already been said :—

“Though Withers’ work at the Owens College was unhappily cut so short, he made and left behind him a deep impression. This was due, I think, not only nor even in the larger degree to the positive results which he achieved. It was due rather to the spirit of the man and to the illustration he gave of the

possibilities of his office. He shewed how much valuable work a man inspired by high ideals, with a genuine faith in his subject, a strong and humane personality, excellent judgment, and large practical experience of schools of many different types, might do in a subject like Education, where science and its practical application go hand in hand. He understood that subject in a large sense. His chief business as a professor was the training of teachers, and as to the importance of this work he never hesitated. But he regarded the training of teachers as one portion of a scientific study which included everything that affected the welfare of schools and school-children. 'You know,' he wrote, in a letter which Prof. M. E. Sadler quoted at the first North of England Educational Conference, held at Manchester in January, 1903, 'my fixed idea that what is most wanted and is least understood in this country is a scientific study of Education at the Universities, and professional training of teachers as a subsection, so to say, of that study. At

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present people speak of training as if it was the acquisition of technical tricks of a dubious kind—the shallowest notion.' A broad conception like this carries with it an obvious danger. A man might spread himself out in many directions, and fail of concentration, and the danger was greater when, as in Withers' case, his office was new and its scope remained for him to determine. Doubtless other reasons as well led to the excessive amount and variety of educational work which he undertook , but I believe that his conception of his subject accounted for it in large part When a friend expostulated with him on his doing some inspecting in public schools in the South, he replied that it was most useful for him in his own special work to know what was being done in schools all over the country. If he had lived, he would probably have learned to limit his activities, while retaining his finely large outlook. As it was, there were so many valuable things in Education for a strong man to do that Withers seemed never to have leisure ; and

there was much of his occupations, like the chairmanship of the Registration Council, so important that his friends, in spite of their anxiety, could hardly wish him to decline.

"Outside his teaching the most important single piece of work he did in the University was in securing for Education recognition by the Victoria University (then composed of the three colleges which have now become separate Universities) as a degree subject. Withers was anxious for this for two reasons. In the first place he dreaded the excess of work imposed upon students who had to acquire their professional training at the same time as they did their regular work for their degree. In the second place, and this was his chief reason, he thought that if treated as an extra and professional subject and not as an academic one, Education would never receive from students or the public its proper estimation as a scientific subject of study.

"He took a lively interest in the welfare of his students, and not least in their physical

welfare. He welcomed the institution of a volunteer corps in the College, not only on civic grounds, but also because of the opportunity such a corps offered to the students for collective physical exercise, and he served himself as an officer in the corps. In his teaching he laid stress on everything that helped to form civic and corporate character, and attached much importance to school games. His students in turn were affected by the force and largeness of his character, especially the more serious and thoughtful of them, who could see behind his extreme reserve and a certain shy appearance of *hauteur* which he had. His teaching, from all that I can hear, was admirably direct, practical and free from technicalities, and expressed with such point and brevity, that some of his pupils looked upon his lectures as their models of English style. Withers, I suppose, knew less than some other teachers of the subject of the details of the science. He was still feeling his way, and had much to learn. At no time did he

use scholastic language, and, like his friend, Mr. P. A. Barnett, he liked to disguise his scientific principles under the name of common sense. But through his sympathy with the needs and the minds of children themselves, little children as well as older ones, through his directness of insight, and his use of his own experience as well as of what he had learnt, his treatment of educational inquiries was, to use the expression of a good judge, luminous.

"His experience at Isleworth had taught him the advantage of a practising school for a training college, and he would have liked to see one of the elementary schools at Manchester used for the purpose by an arrangement for joint management between the School Board and the College. This did not prove to be practicable. But Withers was keenly interested in the practising school which was afterwards instituted in connection with the Women's Department of the Day Training College, and served on its Committee. His teaching was given both to the

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students of the Day Training College (elementary school teachers) and to Diploma Students (secondary school teachers), more largely to the latter class. The problem of securing a supply of trained teachers for secondary schools was beginning to be felt acutely when Withers came to us, and he was very anxious for the extension of this work. He arranged a series of lectures at the College for teachers who were already engaged in schools, and secured the co-operation with himself and his colleagues in Education of several headmasters and head-mistresses of schools in Manchester and the neighbourhood, who lectured upon special topics. He took a prominent part in organising the conference on the training of secondary teachers, which was held at Cambridge while he lay ill. Withers regarded with favour the experiment of instituting, in addition to the class of students going through a regular course of training in a university, a new class of "student teachers," to be trained more largely through apprenticeship in a school.

"Outside the College walls his work was very various. His services were used for examinations in Education in various Universities, inspection of schools for the Oxford and Cambridge Board, lectures on Education in London, and the like. To speak only of Lancashire: in Manchester he gave a course of lectures on the teaching of Scripture for the Sunday School Union of Manchester and District, which, as I understand, were much valued. Scripture teaching was one of the subjects in which he was most deeply interested, the others being English Literature and History. He did a considerable amount of inspecting of Secondary Schools for the University, work which was indeed one of the duties of his office. For the new Universities it is of great importance to establish by inspections and any other means the closest relations with the Secondary Schools of their province, and it was fortunate for us in Manchester that Withers came at a time when the system of inspecting by the University was being organised. His work in this kind

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was highly successful. He had the confidence of headmasters and mistresses, and they were willing not merely to listen to his suggestions of reform, but to adopt them. Thus, I learn from the head of one of the large schools how valuable his suggestions were towards making greater differences between the methods of teaching children at different ages, towards use of more modern methods and better text-books, towards making the teaching of Latin more like that of modern languages, towards simplifying the teaching of Arithmetic, and the like. He had some of the gifts most important for a good inspector, besides the trained capacity to see what ought to be done, he had the saving wisdom to know how much could be done. There was in general a statesmanlike quality in Withers' handling of problems which doubtless led to his being entrusted with public work. The knowledge of this deepened the sense of loss which was felt when he died at a time when all manner of educational questions were arising which called

for both knowledge and practical sagacity.

"He did not take much part in general academic business. In dealing with him as a colleague, you felt his loyalty and good temper and his fairness of mind and consideration for others. He was sensitive and reserved, but there was always the suggested strength which did not come forward to the front of the man. In public speech he did not shew enthusiasm, but a restrained seriousness, which, added to his gift of language, made him impressive in a high degree. It was easy to become acquainted with the gaiety and high spirits and tenderness underneath the surface. Wherever there was any human interest, he could always be counted on for sympathy. He delighted the char-women at the College by singing to them at a supper which was given to them at the time of the College jubilee. And in friendly intercourse he was the best and most genial of companions, with a vigorous physical enjoyment, and a great love of children, animals, and good English literature."

One of the attractions of the professorial life is commonly supposed to be the length
ILLNESS AND DEATH of the summer vacation. Professor Withers, however, gave himself less and less respite from work, and in the summer of 1902 he had scarcely taken any holiday. He returned to Manchester from the British Association Meeting at Belfast in indifferent health, and was advised to undergo a slight surgical operation. Ten days after the operation signs of blood-poisoning became evident, and for many weeks he lay between life and death. And while hosts of friends all over the kingdom were asking in breathless anxiety for tidings of hope, the sufferer in the sick-chamber showed—to quote the words of the sister who nursed him with the tenderest devotion—"even in his hour of weakness the same sweet qualities, patience, unselfishness, thoughtfulness and care for others," which had distinguished him all his life. The same sister speaks of his "childlike faith and love towards God," and of how he would insist on

"the paramount importance of a loving spirit in all our dealings with our fellow-creatures, and of helping them by *believing in them*." "I read aloud to him a great deal," she continues, "but he liked quite simple things, such as Mrs. Ewing's books of which he was intensely fond, and on Sundays he used to choose portions of the Bible for me to read to him." After several rallies and relapses he seemed early in December to be making some real progress towards recovery, when he suddenly became worse, lost consciousness, and passed away peacefully on the morning of Friday, December 12. He was buried at the Manchester Southern Cemetery on the following Monday, after a Memorial Service had been held in the large church of S. Chrysostom, Victoria Park, Manchester, which was crowded with colleagues and students of the University, and with personal friends from many parts of England.

There is the less need to add to this outline of a life that, to human seeming, was so prematurely closed, because the **CONCLUSION.** letters and papers that follow

will best tell, to those who care to know, what manner of man their writer was. It is true that his published work did not, in the judgment of his friends, represent him at his best. Yet the papers on history, and the *Contemporary* article on educational authorities, are not only valuable in themselves, but interesting for the light they throw upon the things he had at heart. He gave his life to the cause of education in England. Passionately convinced of the value of such an education as helps a man 'to see life steadily, and see it whole,' he was oppressed by a sense of the waste and confusion and misdirected views of our educational organization. Two reforms seemed to him to be urgently needed. The first was the infusion of more 'science' into the Universities, the public schools, and English education generally. Not first, or chiefly, more 'natural science.' Science meant to him 'the whole body of systematic knowledge, whether in the humanities or in nature-studies.' All departments of know-

ledge, and indeed of human life, call for the scientific habit of mind; and a man may almost be said to be educated in proportion to the degree in which he has acquired it. What he desired to see, then, was more evidence of a 'trained intellectual habit' in those who pass through our schools and Universities. And the other need of our schools was 'more humanity.' He would have this attained partly by the reading of great literature, partly by the study of history, 'Without history,' he said, 'a momentous aspect of human life is blank to the imagination and dark to the reason.' He had, personally, the same sort of vivid historical imagination as Dr Arnold—he could have told of himself the story he prefers to tell of Arnold—that historical sieges and battles entered into his dreams. To the noblest literature he was equally devoted, and one or other of the great poets, ancient or modern, was always his companion upon a holiday. With this conviction of the twofold defect of English education dominating him,

he did not approve, but neither did he wholly despair of, the present trend towards technical studies. It was, in his view, a vein which the nation would work out and emerge from : not a final goal of its endeavour.

The letters and fragments of letters here collected will give a more adequate idea than the formal writings of a many-sided but harmonious personality. The letter to a former colleague (No. xii.) illustrates his characteristic manner of looking at human life. Evil is 'treachery to comrades': it is, 'from another point of view, disease.' The constitution of his mind forbade him to rest content without a rational basis for religion and morality , and he found such a basis in the reflection that 'goodness' alone made action possible : 'conceive all men to be rogues, and the world would come to a stop.' So, if prayer to God could never be *demonstrated* to be of value by its results, he found a justification for it in what he held to be its conformity with Nature. "We are so built," he told an audience of Manchester teachers,

—“our nervous system is such—that we cannot possibly spend a quarter of an hour at the close of each day before retiring to rest thinking earnestly of the duties and responsibilities of the morrow, without gaining more power, more light” Too philosophical to accept any ready-made creed from the churches, he was yet by his philosophy convinced that only through religion was a wholesome explanation of life possible, and this was for him the proof of its validity. “Religion,” he said to a friend in the last year of his life, “is the tightrope on which the human soul must dance between the gulfs of superstition and atheism.” On some such rational basis he tried to build up religion in his students as the force that should keep their life sweet and strong at the core. And, like Plato, he set a high value on gymnastic as the handmaid of music. In his Divinity lectures at Isleworth he loved to trace analogies between the life of warfare and the Christian life, and to point to St. Paul’s frequent metaphors from physical

training and athletic contests. He would dwell with earnestness upon the close connection between a bad habit of body and morbid states of mind, and urge the helpfulness to right living of a sound physical condition.

The practical statesmanship which impressed so many observers of his public work can only be very partially illustrated by letters, but some extracts here given (Nos. x., xvii., xx.) show at least one side of it—the clearness with which he saw what he wanted in educational matters, the lucidity with which he set it before others. Some reveal his love of Nature, his eye for the picturesque, his power of graphic description. Others recall the often brilliant but always kindly humour of his talk. "Dear old X!" he once wrote to one friend of another, "he rides his hobby so unaffectedly that one almost forgets the horse is wooden." He could use no sterner words of a friend's foible. "The severest remark I ever heard him make of anybody," recalled a colleague after his death, "was that So-and-So was an

owl. *And he was an owl!*" From other letters even those who never knew him may divine something of the tenderness and depth of his friendships, or the reality of his affection for children. The letters about R. L. Nettleship (Nos. iii., iv.), as has already been said, are a vivid reflection of the writer's own character—his single-hearted devotion to truth and to duty. Other remembrances his friends cherish as a sacred possession, though no words can impart them to others; the charm of his frank smile, for example, carrying with it instant conviction of the sincerity and depth and kindness that lay behind; or the unselfishness which always placed the claims of others above his own and reached in his later years to a height that only the most intimate observers of his life could at all comprehend. But it is time to draw these memories to a close, and for the final impression left by his personality it would hardly be possible to find better words than his own. "What a conviction besets one of the imperishable life of what we really

held dearest. And how it helps one to get back to a right scale of values of things. Kindness and courage and work alone seem worth much."

Letters

L E T T E R S .

I. To a Friend.

A Holiday Letter.

Hastings, September, 1889.

. . . And now I am here with my youngest sister. It is a jolly house, with extremely pretty grounds, and a sweet view of the sea, which is about a mile away. There is an excellent billiard-room, and indeed only man is vile, or, when not vile, trumperish I have been leading such a trumperish life myself these last few weeks that I can enter to a certain extent into the feelings of the unfortunates—the *defuncta corpora vita*, whose home is a boarding-house, whose literature a newspaper, whose occupation gossip, whose exercise a lounge, whose recreation dinner. But then, like Æneas in Hades, I am cheered by the thought that I have a return ticket; and that at any moment I can go back to the world, where there is blood in the veins, and where the horny-handed dock-labourer is happier far than the queen of a myriad semi-animate bath-chair-driven invalids. Indeed, one

can take the step any time one goes down to the beach—which my sister and I do very frequently,—for there are crowds of British Philistines enjoying themselves heartily.

I like this place very well. The country round is beautifully wooded and undulates in a charming fashion. The town is triform, on the east is the old town, originally a mere fishing village, full of dear old wooden houses with beetling upper stories and red-tiled roofs. A little to the west of this, and divided from it by a projecting cliff, is the new town of Hastings, New Askelon, the home of the real Philistine on his holiday trip. Further west again is St Leonard's, a superior place, with Grecian pillars on the façades of the houses, just like Portland Place—this is the abode of the lords of the Philistines. The place looks vulgar enough at some points, but I had a view of it the other day which was in its way as beautiful as anything you saw at Eigg, I'm sure. I was sculling in a little boat about a mile off the town, on a perfect day, and behind I could see the old town crawling and curling up the sides of the great green hollow between two grey cliffs—in front a pale blue sea, overhead sky ditto, and over all a pearly mist such as you see in Turner's sea-pictures.

I have been doing a little work at Plutarch; and pecking away at my favourite authors. I hope

before long to qualify myself (in case of blindness from over-smoking) to go round the country reciting the sonnets of Wordsworth; which reminds me that yesterday my sister and I looked in for a moment at a Roman Catholic Church during evening service and saw a pretty sight for a picture—four Italian women, musicians (probably on concertinas), kneeling in the midst of a crowd of British Philistines; dark-haired they were, and their faces were dusky, but their garments were radiant · radiant still, though worn by their travels; and they knelt there not thinking, no, nor attempting to follow the service, but gazing and hearing, gazing at altar and candle and hearing the hum of the Latin.

II. Amours de Voyage.

2 Eeeles Old Road,
Pendleton, Manchester,
September 7th, 1891.

Here am I back in my rooms all alone, and I feel
as a boy feels,
Gone back to school from his home and his folk—
his affections pulled off them,—
So that his heart hangs on while with its tendrils
broken and writhing,
Writhing to feel for the props which it clung to,
and played with, and grew from:
Or as a puppy, alone in a yard for the night, for
the first time,—
No warm mother to romp with when waking, no
brothers to lie on
And to feel sure they are there, when his soul is
down under the blanket.
Under the blanket of sleep, which he dare not
creep under without them,
So he sits up on his paws and cries and cannot lie
quiet.

Five sweet weeks have we been, three friends
together—in Norway
Chiefly—with books and pipes, in the midst of a
beautiful country.
Much have we seen that was noble, the gray North
Sea deep cloven—
Cloven deep into furrows by teams of white-maned
horses,—
And the great cleft running up to the heart of the
gray granite mountains,
Filled with a line of lochs linked one to another by
rapids,
Like huge beads of glass whose ends melt and fuse
them together;
Noble the walks that we took thro' the pinewood in
view of the fosses,
Noble, twice noble, the plunges in swirl of the
thundering torrent,
Noble the trout-like swim through depths of the
lake's cool silence,
Yet had we joy still greater in fellowship There
in our log-house
Dwelt we with fifty others, Norwegian and German
and English,
Shedding each some odd tens of years and playing
like children
Back, thro' the looking-glass, gladly we fared with
children to guide us—

Otto and Mossa and Hakon and Baba and Dagar,
and thee too,
Thee, above all, dear Parson, that never hast
ceased from thy boyhood
But goest ever, in bigness a giant, in temper a
hero,
Like St. Christopher, huge and strong, with the
child on thy shoulders,
Child in thy heart; and thee too, mother and sister
of children,
Fair as a fern that is nourished as well by tears as
by sunshine.
Gilbert, too, was with us, a lad with the soul of a
blackbird,
Saucy and bright, clear-throated, the nimblest of
hoppers; and with him,
Little Fenella, capricious and queer, who tittered
and trifled,
Joked and grimaced, with eyes full of tears and
heart full of passion,
Tender and true, but unwilling to look so,—God
rest her quick spirit
Many another we knew and loved,—the Gunner,
of comrades
Easiest. Humorous he in phrase, but always
good-humoured,
Sanguine and never, whatever might happen,
alarmed or beflustered,

Beating fate by calm simplicity, like that cool
soldier,

Lord of the match-box and pipe in the fairy-tale.

Lastly the Captain,

Smart light-infantry driller above, with spiky
moustaches,

Scholar below, with slippers and pipe, and fingers
inserted,

Some in the pages of polyglot lexicons, some in
the sheets of

Subtle war-treatises full of strategic enigmas and
puzzles.

These were some of the friends that we lived with,
and now is my heart sore,

Sore at the severance, mayhap forever, from them,
and above all

Sore at departure from you, companions twain of
my travel.

III. To a Friend.
R. L. Nettleship's Death.

Blackheath, September 4th, 1892.

Nettleship's loss is a terrible blow to Balliol. The incidents of his death are most sad,* though there is something, too, that recalls your favourite lines:—

Nothing is here for tears . . .
. . . nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

Yet there comes a terrible feeling of waste in the thought that these great risks were run only for holiday recreation . . . I think on the whole he was the greatest as he was certainly one of the best and kindest men I have ever known well. . . . I suppose a man of such utter *truthfulness* of thought, feeling and act, never existed, and it was really that great quality which made him, not doubtful, but most *careful* in statements even about trifles like the weather. His fastidious sense of truth forbade him to use those slipshod proposi-

* He had perished on Mont Blanc —ED.

tions which go to make nine-tenths of ordinary talk, just as his delicacy of feeling kept him from the sloppy geniality which most folks carry into intercourse with others. But he was neither sceptical nor proud; and his devotion to commonplace duty, and indeed to extra work, self-imposed often with the stupidest people, was of the most splendid character. The ordinary gossip and anecdotes about him are utterly superficial and misleading. But to gas about him is worse, for gas was both intellectually and morally hateful to him. The *Manchester Guardian* extract you sent me was the only satisfactory notice I have seen yet.

IV. To a Balliol Friend.

The same subject.

September 6th, 1892.

It was very jolly to get your long letters and to have an account of all your doings. But how sad the circumstances under which I sit down to reply. This is the sixth sheet of paper on which I have begun to write to you, and hitherto everything I have set down about Nettleship's death, I have torn up immediately. But I am determined to send this away whatever it may be. For I know you are in fullest sympathy with me about it all: it is almost the greatest loss that could have happened to us both in common. It is a certain satisfaction to think that we did to some extent realise and try to show our sense of all that he was to us and all that he did for us. But dry words and indeed dry feelings thrown into ordinary mould seem utterly out of place. Nothing but perfectly steady and quiet *action*, free from all sentimentality and exaggeration, can worthily be associated with the memory of him who was so perfectly simple and so absolutely sincere. Yet it is just this power of quiet *action* which is the hardest thing in the world to win. If only a portion of his spirit might remain with us!

V. To a Friend.
A Holiday Greeting.

Clifton College,
March 28th, 1893.

I heard from E this morning that you and H. are taking a party of four to Coniston for Easter. I must send off a line to catch you before you start, so that I may send my good wishes with you. Would I were going too; but we are fast here until the 20th, so that I shall have no further Easter holiday this year than is to be got out of putting up books and pictures, and buying furniture. My eldest sister is to keep house for me, and I hope by the time Whitsuntide comes round we shall be so far in a civilised state as to be ready for visitors.

You may well imagine that as the time draws near for me to leave Clifton, I feel more and more sorry to do so, but under all the circumstances I believe I have chosen rightly. The whole country here is in a most winning mood; I wish you could have seen it from Penpole Point last Saturday, when the cross-country run was on, and a white thread of runners was stretching over the

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fields below, with Channel and distant mountains behind. 'Twas one of the strikingest scenes you can fancy.

But you will be in the middle of things far more magnificent very shortly; what a change it will be from last year's Moscow matches if only this weather hold up, as seems most likely. No snowballs for E. and W. but rather "nectarous camel draughts" from bedroom jugs and plunges faun-like in the milk-bowl of a torrent, followed by baths of pure sunshine taken on a warm flat rock, such as we had with D. and L. I shall be much about with you in my mind's eye. The Coniston Old Man was one of the first big hills I ever went up, but I have no very clear recollection of it, except of the heaps of slate to be crossed both in the ascent and descent as we did it.

VI. To a Friend.
A Holiday Letter.

Dornoch, N.B.,

August 8th, 1893.

You will see from the map that Dornoch lies at the edge of the Frith of that name. The character of the scenery here is just the opposite of that in Norway. The mountains are in the far distance, peaks and shoulders on the horizon, close round are huge flat stretches of tawny sand fringed with sedgy hillocks; further on again green rolling breasts of meadows dotted with copses of fir; in front, a huge bay, flanked by two long promontories on which are fishing villages. The "note" of the place is distance, -- width of country. You may see in the shifty weather we are having now, three or four types of day in different quarters of the landscape. Mists tumbling over hillsides in one part, sunshine on meadows in another, a steady downpour from blue-black clouds in a third.

VII. To a Friend.

A Holiday Letter: Cromer in Winter.

Cromer, January 5th, 1894.

We are very sorry for *our* sakes that you are unable to turn up, but by my soul 'tis home-keeping weather. We sit here perched on a beaky promontory, where the shrieking gusts, wild with their race over the plains of Poland and the German Sea, shake us furiously. Indeed, to speak calmly, to look out from these windows over the brown waste of water, and to see the blizzards come from the East, makes one think of nothing so much as a charge of Don Cossacks over a frozen steppe, with snow-dust whirling in front of their lances. Thank Heaven, I have no cold and can defy the weather. But I am glad I am not travelling.

VIII. To a Friend.
A Holiday Letter.

Alnmouth, Northumberland,
August 26th, 1895.

I am here with —, —, and —. 'Tis an odd little place—still quite unsophisticated—with no names to the half-dozen streets it possesses, and but one hotel, in which we are at this moment located. The Hotel is run with great energy by Mrs. B., the landlady, who has the whole place—including B. himself—under the best of control. The golf-course is a small one—only nine holes—and with none of the thrilling features of the links at Dornoch. But it is for that reason less heart-breaking to the beginner. The beach is flat and sandy, and there is no possibility of a Kopf-sprung except for shrimps, but the sea—when you ultimately get up to your waist in it,—is as salt and exhilarating as elsewhere. The air is keen and bracing, and must, I suppose, be doing us all good, for we are becoming extremely skittish and silly in our behaviour; and our appreciation of one

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another's jests is becoming generous to a fault. X. is looking extremely thin and worn, but he is extremely lively and is as rich in reminiscence and reflection as ever. Y. and I are attempting to make some way with volumes of a Shakespeare series which we have respectively undertaken. We also read a good deal of Homer and a little Aristotle. Z. is full of philosophy and revelling in Bradley's "Logic" and "Appearance and Reality."

IX. To a Friend's Wife.

Isleworth, January 31d, 1896.

If I could put a frontispiece of my own drawing to the book I am sending you, it should be the Chancel of —— Church just as I saw it yesterday with all the prayers and good wishes going up like "flights of angels" round you both.

But I must content myself with a date which will perhaps be a more eloquent inscription than anything else

I am sending a volume also to [your husband]. Perhaps a motto might serve for both, he will—if necessary—interpret for you AMORI AMICITIA, or stay, I will construe it myself: "Friendship's Gift to Love."

With my return to "robust vigour" I hope to get to London for my belated pictures. But the books are memorials, and I take much pleasure in believing them to be both collections so excellently made from such noble literature that they may become something more than a mere token.

X. To a Friend.
Secondary School Ideals

Isleworth,
December 19th, 1896.

As to your first point; it is just because I wish to prevent the School from becoming commercial and technical in the wrong sense that I want to get a human and humane person to work it at the start. But, of course, the facts will remain: that the boys will be mainly sons of clerks and shopmen, destined to become in their turn shopmen and clerks.

Nor is there anything involved in the idea of a liberal education which need make them ineffective or incompetent in their particular line of life. Indeed, you will no doubt be of opinion that it is not so much the matter as the method which stamps an education as liberal or illiberal. But we will have nothing to do with Book-keeping or Shorthand as Class Subjects, and we will have no examining body whose methods we cannot trust (which will exclude the Science and Art Department).

As to the freedom of hand, there will be very much more of that at the Upper School than elsewhere. But here also we cannot start "in vacuo." The freedom of the Head Teacher will consist in using his conditions and instruments to the best advantage. I do not think he will find the authorities less but more practicable to liberal ends than he would anywhere else.

The fact that the school is to be a *model* school makes it essential that—as you say—the interests of the boys should be considered before everything else. The plant will be "observed" but the observation will not include taking it up by the roots or interfering with its growth. And at first—necessarily—little use can be made in this way.

**XI. Letter to an Isleworth Student pursuing a
Third Year Course abroad at Zurich,
Switzerland.**

Swiss Primary Schools.

Isleworth,

January 12th, 1898.

I have read your last report—on Apparatus and Organisation—with great interest. What you tell of the thorough *connectedness* of the Zurich system of schools confirms impressions previously made.

I note with special interest what you say about the greater use of *Books* by children of Zurich schools. Do I understand you to mean that Swiss children read more than English? If so, how is this result brought about?

I should like you to take as the subject of one of your Reports:—To what extent is the Swiss system more successful than the English in forming permanent literary, artistic, and scientific interests and tastes among the people? To what causes do you ascribe any difference in this respect you may have observed?

In connection with this I should be glad to have from you specimens of the Text-Books used in Class by the children; I authorise you to expend money up to £1 in obtaining specimens, though doubtless you will be able to get some given you. You should write inside each the Standard by which the book is used, with the average age of the children (Primary School only.)

In connection with the same subject also I should like to know what you have seen of the use of School Museums and School Libraries.

Another point I am greatly interested in is the amount of Home Work done, and the sort of exercise set for Home Work. Any specimens of pupils' actual work—of *average* merit—would also be very acceptable.

A report on the Teaching of History and Citizenship would also be valuable.

XII. To a former Colleague.**Ethics for Teachers.**

Lowestoft,

January 2nd, 1900.

As to your question about Ethics for Teachers, don't you think that the main object should be to take the subject out of the region of rather unreal "goody goodness" in which it has commonly remained, and to treat it simply and concretely? I would begin by calling it the Science of Human Action (avoiding all such terms as "morality" and even "conduct"). It would be easy to show that all Human Action implies combination and co-operation, that from the moment of birth onwards we are for ever dealing with other men. The central problem then for Ethics, regarded scientifically, is this. Under what conditions is combined action (i) possible at all (ii) effective?

It is clear that combination implies common agreement, to which all are bound. Obvious practical illustrations arise out of Games (Cricket and Football) and the life of a School or College. All the main duties of life may be shewn to

illustrate this general principle—*e.g.*, honesty, respect for property, self-control, and right dealing with others in every form. All wrong-doing, on the other hand, is of the nature either of shirking, funkmg, or fouling. A “good” man is one who acts fully up to the tacit agreement on which all human combined activity is based. “Goodness” therefore makes action *possible*. Conceive all men to be utter rogues and the world would come to a stop.

Effectiveness also depends on qualities of character, and among these we ought to include initiative, enterprise, steadfastness, “gut,” as well as the negative virtues by which a man abstains from evil. An interesting illustration of this may be taken from international comparisons, *e.g.*, Chinese illustrate ineffectiveness of superstitious routine and general dishonesty; French illustrate ineffectiveness of lack of loyalty to leaders, and of power of honourable cohesion in public life; Germans illustrate power of systematic working to a carefully conceived end; Americans, power of initiation and inventiveness, and so on.

Similarly history shows how great military powers like Rome have been reduced to ineffectiveness by luxury and self-indulgence.

The great ethical teachers of to-day are men like Lord Roberts, B.P., Kitchener, Lord C. Beresford

and others, who point to the necessity for discipline, loyalty, self-control, and common-sense. Without these qualities no combination can stand.

Another simple, concrete idea at the basis of ethics is *healthiness*. Evil is not only treachery to comrades; it is, from another point of view, disease. All criminals are to a greater or less degree abnormal nerve cases, and the study of insanity, epilepsy and the like, shows intimate connection of brain and spine disease with many forms of wrong-doing. This does not destroy responsibility but rather increases it. Here comes in W. James' splendid chapter on *habit*, a most important ethical conception.

These points, treated in constant relation to the problems of discipline and character-training in school, carry us a long way, and show the importance of physical and moral health.

Then *afterwards* may come advanced study such as

I. Ideals of Character

The Greek Ideal (Plato's Republic).

The Ideals of Chivalry (see the introduction to the Globe Edition of Morte D'Arthur).

The Ideals of Shakespeare (characters of Portia, Henry V., etc), "Muscular Christianity" (Kingsley and Tom Hughes), The Christian Soldier

(Gordon, Havelock, Outram and a dozen others); and so on with other famous examples of the Good Man.

II. Ethics as the Science of Action, implies Universal Law and one Mind and Will in the world, and so leads to the grand conceptions of Duty and Religion, which have been the Inspiration of most great lives and particularly of the Greatest of Teachers.

You will of course use your discretion as to how far you go

But I would say, begin with what all level-headed men of any power of thought and knowledge of the world would agree upon, and go up from that to the nobler ideas which have made "the wisdom of the world seem foolishness."

I trust this scribble may be of some service to you.

Nothing is so much wanted as humanistic teaching in our Schools, don't you think? Connected with art and literature it makes a truly grand course to work out

All good and pleasant things to you and your work.

XIII. To a Friend.

A Letter of Consolation in Bereavement.

Hulme Hall, Plymouth Grove,
Manchester,

February 10th, 1900.

It was a very kind thought of yours to send me the notice. I have a most grateful memory of your good Father's hospitable welcome to me--was it in 88 or 89?--and of the friendliness with which he received a friend of yours. I remember his keen delight in Scottish antiquities, and the vividness of a knowledge which was first hand and full of personal feeling. Other things, too, I remember, which are sacred to me and must be so, tenfold, to you; signs of a kind and wise soul which has found natural words to express its strongest feelings. I remember how his *strength* of heart touched me, and reminded me of my own Father:—so different from the dumb, half hearted state of mind into which our own generation seems more and more falling.

He had finished his course and earned release and rest; but I know that nothing can take off the

poignancy of the moment of departure. It will grieve you deeply. Yet I feel confident, too, that you will find it quite as natural as I do to pass quite sincerely from a grasp of the significance of death, to a grasp of its *insignificance*. In any event, how short an interval separates us. And what a conviction besets one of the imperishable life of what we really held dearest. And how it helps one to get back to a right scale of values of things. Kindness and courage and work alone seem worth much.

XIV To a Friend.¹
Literature in Education.

November 30th, 1900.

I fear that the poor type of novel most commonly read is, as it were, a symbol of the poor starved training in the "humanities" which is all that the children get, whether in Primary or Secondary Schools. There is so little *humanity*, so little *literature*, in our education! Matthew Arnold told us all so forty years ago, but what has been done? . . . I hope you and all others who work for education, not in its professional aspect, with examinations in view, but in its relation to life—human life as well as individual life—will continue to fight, heart and hand, for more literature and more humanity in the Schools.

1. Reprinted from the beautiful and touching tribute to Prof. Withers which appeared in the *Athenaeum* of Dec. 20, 1902.

XV. To a former Isleworth Student.
Swiss Teachers—Logic Text-books.

Owens College,

December 8th, 1900.

Many thanks for the *Swiss Teachers' Journal*. It is excellent, and one more proof of the high intellectual interest taken by continental teachers in their work. It is a splendid idea of yours to take it in and so keep in touch with your Swiss friends and their work. I hope you will often be able to repeat your trip abroad.

Now as to the Logic. I think Jevons' little primer is quite enough to put in the hands of your class, although Welton's "Logical Bases of Education" is useful to the lecturer, especially the last chapter and the chapter on inductive reasoning.

I certainly don't think the rules for conversions of syllogisms are necessary for teachers. On the other hand, the general principles of sound reasoning are of great importance, both deductive and inductive. Jevons' adaptation of Euler's graphic method is of great use. A great deal of unsatis-

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factory science teaching in object lessons, etc., would be put an end to, if teachers thoroughly grasped the six main rules of the syllogism. Almost all experiments take this form (as ordinarily conducted).

$$\begin{array}{l} A \text{ is } B \\ C \text{ is } B \\ \cdot \quad C \text{ is } A \end{array}$$

and it is most important that teachers should understand why this is invalid reasoning.

(Exercises in "spotting" fallacies are very useful for your class)

I think you will find two books helpful, viz.: James' "Talks to Teachers on Psychology," and "Psychological Foundations of Education," by W. T. Harris (International Education Series, E. Arnold). The latter has a good deal about logic in it.

XVI To a Colleague

Lowestoft,

January 4th, 1901.

The combined card was a lovely production, and I shall carefully preserve it as a record of the Pilgrims and their very merry wit. I am not equal to a reply in kind, so I send you a newspaper with a pretty bad report of a speech of mine delivered yesterday in Norwich to the nationally federated Head Teachers. The good people had brought their fate upon their own heads, and I could have cried that so noble a theme should have to be handled before them by me. However, I got through it, and they seemed pleased, as folks always are until they're told it's all in Herbart.

XVII. To Mr. Graham Wallas.**History and Citizenship: Proposal to celebrate
Special Days in the Schools**

Owens College, Manchester,
February 3d, 1901.

Recent events have rather helped us, by rousing a general interest in the history of at any rate the last two generations, and by lifting people out of their customary indifference to the great things happening about them.

This appears to me to be a particularly favourable moment to propose the formal celebration in all the schools of certain conspicuous dates, to be chosen by your committee. How would Nov. 9th do for London Day? Could you get the Lord Mayor and the Borough Corporations interested in having some Citizenship Day, on which the growth of London and its old Merchant Companies, and the development of London's Trade might be commemorated?

To this there might be added, say, a King's Day, and an Empire Day.

The preparation also of a Calendar of Heroes

in Peace and War, National and International, would, I think, excite much more interest just now than it would have done three or four years ago even. Such a Calendar might be issued annually by a publisher—the Board agreeing to buy so many hundred on condition that the design, etc., was annually submitted in proof to their committee. There would be plenty of sale outside for it. For the first year or two it might be prepared under your directions

For all these matters this seems indeed *the* psychological moment. If you could get —— to write to the *Times*, or better still, write yourself, just at the moment of the appearance of the memorandum, I believe you would have public opinion behind you to a surprising degree, and you could, by its help, brush aside any little recalcitrance on anybody's part. Indeed, the move may possibly turn out highly popular, if it is put in the right light at the beginning.

XVIII. To a Colleague.**The "Practical Teacher."—The Holy Word
"Correlation."**

Hulme Hall,

June 30th, 1901.

The *Practical Teacher* is excellent; your Forest of Arden charms me and fills me with Wanderlust. The *Practical Teacher* is surely much the best printed thing that enters the Primary Schools. The weary polemics are kept in something like their true proportion. Your Forest of Arden and the photograph of Winchester Cathedral must be a real refreshment to folks. All blessings on the Paper and its Writers.

As to the Holy Word "Correlation," I fear we shall have to change it to "Coherence" or "Connectedness," or something else beginning with "Co." There is something in the present name which leads people to deny, in their fury, the simplest truths of the world and the human mind. But how little avails arguing! It is when people work and enjoy working, and sing as they work, that people come and stand round the smithy door, and look and listen.

XIX. To a Colleague.**Dickens.**

St Anne's-on-the-Sea,

September 2nd, 1901.

I am reviewing my Dickens--with pleasure on the whole, but I find I have to skip a good deal that I used to read keenly once. Strange that a man with so amazing a power of humour should also be the victim so often of mere bunkum and false sentiment. It really seems as if there were a strain of Chadband in him as well as of Sam Weller. One notices the same combination in Americans occasionally. And yet humour is supposed to save folks from being maudlin. It did not save Dickens. Was it that he only knew, after all, a very narrow part of human life, or are the psychologists wrong about humour?

XX. To a Colleague.
Training of Teachers.

St. Anne's-on-the-Sea,

September 5th, 1901.

As to the *Diploma* students I think it would be well that they should do some teaching from the very first, partly because otherwise they do not get practice enough in the course of the session, and partly because without some practice the books on Education have so little meaning to them. On the whole, I think it best for them to begin with Infants and very small children, and to devote most of their time to them during the first term. As for Reading, I would suggest one simple textbook on the *mechanics*, so to say, of instruction, such as Salmon's "Art of Teaching," and one good book on the *Philosophy* of Infant Teaching, such as Herford's Froebel. As they will naturally attend the Criticism Lesson and the Conference they will require enough instruction to explain these, and that will necessitate one lesson a week, at least, on general principles of instruction.

Three, or at the most four, hours of regular

tuition a week with you should be as much as they can digest, with home-reading set in connexion with it, criticism-lesson, school-practice, and attendance at one or two of the Day Training College Lectures. Besides this they will probably have a course with Professor Alexander, I suppose, and certainly they will come for three hours a week to me. If you will take charge of their practice in the first term, I will, as before, in their second and third. Girls in the position of — appear to wish for personal coaching in teaching, and it is as well that this should begin from the first.

All this, of course, is by way of suggestion, and I should be glad to know if you think it needs amendment at any point.

With regard to the *politics* of our position for next year, you will see that Circular 454 means in the course of the next year or two a delegation on the part of the Government of the work of examining Training College Students to other authorities, such as Universities, etc. This means that we shall have to fight for our own hand without much help from Whitehall. That being so, if we are not in the same sort of position as the teachers of other subjects, we shall continue, as heretofore, to be driven into corners and to fight always at a disadvantage.

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The first thing, therefore, is to have Education put on a proper academic footing, with a Board of Studies, in which you, as a University Lecturer, would have a place.

The next thing is to seek to have our subjects recognised in some way—instead of leaving them, as they are now, pure surplus on the top of a Degree Course. In this way we should do something to remedy the over-pressure which is the worst of all forms of Training for a Teacher, because it strangles the very life of education. The University cannot continue to put Teaching on a less favourable footing than Engineering or Agriculture.

I must not trouble you with more of this at present. But the work is exciting enough: for it means, the placing of the professional training of teachers on a better administrative basis.

XXI. To a Colleague.

20, East Beach, Lytham,

December 26th, 1901.

I am looking over Examination Papers and writing letters in lodgings by myself. My landlady thinks I am a detective, connected with the Liverpool Bank case. The device of having letters addressed to me as Professor, she regards as well-meant, but transparent, because in other respects I am not like a Professor. It is hopeless to argue with her, because she regards that as a further attempt at disguise. I have been trying to think what would occur, if everybody resolutely believed everyone was somebody else. Perhaps, after all, that is very much what they do.

XXII. To a Colleague.

20, East Beach, Lytham,

December 29th, 1901.

Please give my hearty greetings to all your Gesellschaft. I envy you Ben Lomond, but then he is not propitious to Examination papers and such like labour. I have been doing some general knowledge papers which are really better than I had expected. Of course there are some extraordinary folk who put down as among the greatest living writers Marie Corelli, Byron, Annie Swan, and W. M. Thackeray; and another who says she saw, on a visit to the Art Museum, "a statue of Venus and several other Roman beauties."

All good things to you and your enterprises.

XXIII. To a Colleague.

Hulme Hall,

July 20th, 1902.

Miss ——'s note reads well. I cannot enough admire people who give themselves to that kind of work; they need to be strong as well as good. If after seeing enough to realise thoroughly what she is going to do, she still abides by her resolve, why then this year of preparation will be arming her for her quest among all the evil results of bad food, bad air, and other perverted conditions of a modern town. This is a pilgrimage of rescue in good earnest, and few would have the wit and the worth to undertake it.

XXIV. To a Colleague.

Owens College,
July 29th, 1902.

I wish I could have come with you all into Germany. I should like to have heard the Lectures on all the excellent subjects. Please present my respectful homage to Professor Rein and my hearty greetings to all your party. I will write a human letter when I am free of Exams

If you can get any nice things for an Education Museum when you are abroad, please think of it. A relic of Herbart, a MS. of Rein, pictures, photos, anything? Must we not have a Museum now? Is it in Leipsic they have such? Books, appliances, photographs, charts, and RELICS!

XXV. To a Colleague.

Holyhead,

August 6th, 1902.

It was very pleasant to get your letter and to know how things are going in Jena. The Child Study programme is interesting. We ought to make more use of *Doctors* in England; their method is so well-developed and self-confident, compared with the tentative experiments of Teachers. Prithee send me any more printed matter that comes your way, and let me hear what occurs at your lectures. Are you proceeding upon the Gouin system? or the Neuere Richtung?

I am staying for a few days at Holyhead. I asked a friend to recommend me a quiet place in N. Wales, and he said the Station Hotel, Holyhead. It has a railway station on each side and steamer-docks at the back. Anyone falling out of a bedroom-window would alight on the deck of the Dublin Packet Boat. The principal trains have two locomotives each, and they arrive respectively at 2-10 a.m. and 3-30 a.m. Then the people are

driven in flocks like sheep to the steamers under the glare of great electric moons, and finally the steamers sound their sirens and swim out into the Irish Sea. There is no garden—still less a Pine-Forest—round the Hotel. After dessert, one drinks one's coffee on a seat in the railway station which happens to be unoccupied at the moment. But the roads round are fair for bicycling; there is a good bathing-place in the harbour; and the distant views of Snowdon are grand. Next Monday I go to Stonyhurst to lecture to young Jesuit School-masters for a week, then I go up to Westmorland in search of a substitute for a Pine-Forest.

Ancient History

ANCIENT HISTORY.

[Reprinted (by permission of Messrs. Longmans) from "Teaching and Organisation," edited by P. A. BARNETT, 1897.]

ASSOCIATIONS OF THE SUBJECT WITH ARNOLD.

This subject has a peculiar personal interest for English students of educational practice and theory. History was a favourite subject with Arnold. He was for ever working at it himself. "One of the few¹ recollections which he retained of his father was that he received from him at three years old a present of Smollett's 'History of England' as a reward for the accuracy with which he had gone through the stories connected with the portraits and pictures of the successive reigns." In his professorial chair at Oxford he quoted Dr. Priestley's "Lectures on History" from his remembrance of what he had read, when he was eight,² in the school library at Warminster. "At Winchester he was a diligent student of Russell's 'Modern Europe'; Gibbon and Mitford he had read twice over before he left school." After his election to a fellowship at Oriel, the first book he took out of the College library was Rymer's "Fœdera." And so to the end.

1. Stanley's *Arnold*, chap. i. p. 3 ('Minerva Library' Series).

2. *Ibid*

He was not content that history should be "a plan"; it must also be "a picture." Towards this end his unceasing research (carried on even in the heaviest stress of school work) among the original authorities for the periods which he taught, was, as he always maintained, a help not to be dispensed with. So lively was his interest that he quite took the events of history to heart and made a personal matter of them. They often troubled his dreams; he would be "present at the assassination of Cæsar, remembering distinctly his conversation with Decimus Brutus, and all the tumult of the scene in the Capitol." Sulla he knew by sight—"with the livid spots upon his face, but yet with the air and manner of Walter Scott's Claverhouse"¹

This intensity of feeling entered, natural and unforced, into his history lessons, and made them unforgettable. In the good or evil fortunes of Rugby, as a self-governing society or commonwealth, he could not help seeing illustrations of the working of all free institutions, whether Greek, Roman, or English. In these illustrations he recognised the unique opportunity by which, in a public school, the life of the community gives substance and meaning to history, at the same time that history shows the dignity and serviceableness of the organised life of the school. All

¹ Chap. iv p. 113.

this illustrated his favourite idea—the oneness of human life, in virtue of which he maintained the great classic writers to be “modern authors”—concerned, that is, with a stage of political development analogous to ours. The study of Thucydides he held to be “not an idle inquiry about remote ages and forgotten institutions, but a living picture of things present, fitted not so much for the curiosity of the scholar as for the instruction of the statesman and the citizen” (Preface to vol. iii. of his ‘Thucydides’).¹

Arnold’s practice and theory will form the starting-point for the treatment of the subject here. When the rules and first principles of an art are in debate, as is the case in England with the art of teaching, the method of investigation most likely to be fruitful in results and least likely to divide opinion is that which refers constantly to the handling of the art by one of its acknowledged masters.

1. A fine instance of his application of ancient history to the circumstances of school occurs in a letter to a colleague, referring to certain criticisms on Rugby discipline. “When we are attacked, we have some right to say with Scipio, who, scorning to reply to a charge of corruption, said, ‘Hoc die enin Hannibale bene et feliciter pugnavi’—‘We have done good enough, and undone enough evil to allow us to hold our assailants cheap.’ The passage recalls Matthew Arnold’s witness to his father’s power of making history credible.

‘Through thee I believe
In the noble and great who are gone’

Preliminary Questions.

The inquiry implied in the subject is a double one :

1. In point of *organisation*, what place should be given to ancient history in the curriculum of a school?
2. In point of *teaching*, how is the individual teacher to make sure that his pupils get the most they can out of the work?

In dealing with the first of these questions it will be necessary to take history as a whole, apart from the divisions into which its subject-matter falls. These are, indeed, quite arbitrary. We may agree with Arnold that the year 500 A.D. is the most convenient date at which to say that ancient history closes, since it is the nearest round and easily remembered number to the period which marked the decisive entry of two new and striking elements into political history—Christianity and the Teutonic races. But the distinction does not affect the question of the place of history in a school curriculum.

Every time-table is a numerical expression of the relative values of different studies in the sum-total of training. Is history "worth its place" in a time-table, and how big a place shall it have? Which, again, implies the question : Is there any-

thing, either in the information conveyed or in the faculty cultivated by the study of history, that should make it an indispensable part of education?

The province of history¹ in the kingdom of knowledge is the past of mankind, and more particularly the past of mankind as organised in political communities. In a very vague and wide sense history may be said to include such studies as deal with man individually and socially (anthropology, archæology, etc); but in its specific sense, and as a school-subject, history is the "biography of political societies." It therefore has so much in common with art—and in particular with the art of literature—that its aim is to construct a representation of human life. But human life in a special aspect is its theme, and this it seeks to reproduce *as a series of events in order of time*. The use of the order of time and the treatment of men as grouped in governments are the specific marks of history. Thus it has so much in

1. The word itself is interesting.—originally, of course, *ἱστορία* meant inquiry or investigation of any kind. By Aristotle it is applied to that preliminary collection and record of the 'facts' of a subject which must precede discovery of general principles; such, e.g. as his own account of animals, which, imitated by Pliny, has given vogue to the term 'Natural History.' The specially *human* sense which the word generally bears now is due perhaps to the influence of the opening sentence of the Father of History himself. 'Ηρόδοτου Αλικαρνηστῆς *ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις γέδε.*'

'Story' is only a truncated form of the same word.

common with natural science that it proceeds only after a methodical study of given matter and aims at stating what has actually occurred. To do this it must have canons of evidence, by which it decides whether or no this or that really did happen.

The importance of the *information*, then, conveyed by history seems to lie in this: that without it a momentous aspect of human life must remain blank to the imagination and dark to the reason, and that if we are ever to arrive at an understanding of things as they are, it can only be by a knowledge of the process by which they came to be so. The importance of the *faculty* which it trains is that it is a faculty constantly required for critical issues in actual life. The importance of the subject might not seem to need enforcing. But it is still only an optional subject in English primary schools, and, in point of fact, greatly neglected as systematic matter of instruction.¹ In France the children in primary schools not only receive a thorough grounding in the history of their own country and of its relations to its neighbours, but are also taught in outline some of the main salient facts about the great Eastern civilisations to which we owe the

1. In the Blue Book for 1895-6, out of 22,765 school departments examined in 'class subjects,' only 3,597, or less than a sixth, are reported as presenting history.

beginnings of our own. In Germany the scheme is not so elaborate, but insures, even in elementary schools, a clear outline of German history.

As regards secondary schools, a consideration of the nature of history leads to two corollaries:

1. That in point of *information* an ideal curriculum in history will, as a final result, give some outline, however meagre, of the continuous series of events by which Western Europe has come to be what it now is.

2. That in point of *faculty* an attempt will be made with the higher forms to convey a mastery, however imperfect, of the laws of evidence by which a great historian assures himself of the credibility of his "facts," of his manner of dealing with a mass of material, and of the descriptive art by which he selects typical points for narration.

TWO SCHEMES OF HISTORY TEACHING.

Taking it now for granted that history is to be taught, as an indispensable subject, through all the forms of a secondary school, I shall put in for consideration two schemes of history teaching: one, only in outline, sketched by Arnold in his essay called "Rugby School—Use of the Classics," reprinted in his "Miscellaneous Works" (London, 1845); the second, that of the Prussian higher schools, as set forth in the "Lehrplane und

Lehraufgaben für die höheren Schulen" (pub. Berlin, 1896), by Wilhelm Hertz, with the authority of the Prussian Minister of Education.¹ In regard to the latter it is particularly worthy of note that an identical course is laid down in history for Gymnasien and Realschulen (classical and modern schools).

A.—ARNOLD'S SCHEME OF HISTORICAL STUDY.

(a) *For Young Children*

A series of lessons on pictures or "prints" of scenes from universal history portraying remarkable events in striking fashion. Their main object is to give vivid centres of association round which to group the stories [Arnold seems to have been conscious that he himself owed much to the method of combining a story picturesquely told with a picture speakingly drawn. See the story given above of his exploit at three years old, and compare the passage in "Stanley," c. iii., p. 100. "In examining children in the lower forms he would sometimes take them on his knee and go through picture-books of the Bible or of English history, covering the text of the narrative with his hand, and making them explain to him the subject of the several prints."]

1. Officially designated 'The Minister for Ghostly, Educational, and Medicinal Affairs.'

(b) For the Middle Forms of Schools

The study of brief and lively histories of Greece, Rome and England

The main purpose at this point is to excite curiosity and to stimulate appetite for increased knowledge.

(c) In the Higher Forms

The study of some first-rate historian "whose mind was formed in, and bears the stamp of, some period of advanced civilisation analogous to that in which we now live," such, for instance, as Thucydides or Tacitus. In this stage the teacher's object will be to encourage *reflection* among his pupils by leading them to study (i) the criteria of a credible narrative; (ii) the causes of events and the history of institutions. They will be trained to look for the important points, to make judgments, and to apply them to analogous circumstances.

B.—COURSE OF HISTORICAL STUDY FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN PRUSSIA (CLASSICAL AND MODERN ALIKE) ARRANGED FOR NINE YEARS.

This falls into three main divisions:

(a) First two years, *preparatory* (in two lowest forms). One hour a week of oral instruction

without text-book of any sort, firstly, in "picturesque biographies" ("Lebensbilder") from the history of the Fatherland, starting from the children's own time and district; secondly, in the "saga-like" early history of the Greeks and Romans.

(β) From the third to the sixth year, *intermediate*¹ (from "Quarta" to "Untersekunda")

- (i) A general review in outline of Greek history to the death of Alexander the Great, and of Roman history to the death of Augustus, with brief references to the influence of primitive Oriental civilisation on Greece and Rome. Two hours a week for one year.
- (ii) Starting from the death of Augustus and a sketch of the history of the Roman Western Empire, an outline of German history to the close of the Middle Ages. Two hours a week for one year
- (iii) German history from the close of the Middle Ages to the accession of Frederick the Great. Two hours a week for one year.

1. The forms of German secondary schools are arranged for a nine years' course, every boy nominally remaining a year in each form. The forms are numbered from bottom to top, contrary to the English practice, VI., V., IV., III. B and A, II. B and A, I. B and A.

- (iv) ¹German history from the accession of Frederick the Great to the present time.
Two hours a week for one year.
- (γ) *Advanced*, last three years from "Ober-sekunda" to "Ober Prima"
- (i) Revision of the chief events of Greek history down to the death of Alexander, and of Roman history to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, with a closer study of the causes and effects of the events described, and of ancient institutions, political and social Three hours a week for one year.
 - (ii) Study of "epoch-making" events of universal history from the fall of the Roman Empire in the West to the close of the Thirty Years' War, with special reference to historical cause and effect. Three hours a week for one year
 - (iii) Study of the chief events of modern history from the close of the Thirty Years' War to the present day, with special reference to the House of Hohenzollern Three hours a week for one year.

1 N.B.—In every case where a period of German history is to be studied, the official syllabus lays down that external history, so far as it is of world-wide importance, is to be taken along with German. The syllabus also insists on the study of the geographical background of history.

PRUSSIAN NOTES ON METHOD.

The official syllabus for Prussian secondary schools defines the general object of the historical course as follows: First, the imparting of a certain knowledge, viz., that of the most striking events of universal history, together with a more detailed account of German and in particular Prussian history; secondly, "the development of the historical sense."

It appears also from the "Remarks on Method," which follow the curriculum, that the Prussian Ministry of Education desires to impress upon its teachers the duty of carrying out the present Emperor's wish that the children should be warned against revolutionary methods in politics, and should be encouraged to loyalty and patriotism. The directly practical and national colour given to history teaching in German schools, and its vigorous appeal to feeling, are as strikingly characteristic as the system and the symmetry with which, on the intellectual side, the scheme of instruction has been planned. In these remarks on method special attention is called to the necessity of studying the social and economic aspects of modern history with the older boys. But great stress is laid on the difference of method to be employed in the intermediate and advanced

stages of the course. In the intermediate, it is the external and picturesque aspect of history and the personality of great men that are chiefly to be dwelt upon. In the advanced, the study of the causation of events and of the inner life of institutions is to be the main point.¹

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE TWO SCHEMES.

It will be seen that in some points there is a remarkable agreement between the courses schemed respectively by Arnold and the Prussian Ministry of Education. They are at one in recommending a triple course, adapted to three stages of mental growth; each section roughly to cover the whole ground as regards matter, but to take different aspects of it, and to treat them in a wholly different spirit and method. Arnold's plan, in the third stage, of connecting the study of history with the literary study of great historical writers, seems sounder than the Prussian idea of insisting so much upon the present-day political bearings of the subject.

1. The historical curriculum in French Classical secondary schools, as by decree of Jan. 28, 1890, is very similar in matter covered to the Prussian course. The history of France is taken in fully as great detail as the history of Prussia. One whole year (in the 'classe de sixième' for boys of eleven) is given to the ancient civilisations of the East. But the essential point of the systems, both of Arnold and the Prussian Ministry, viz., the *double survey* of the ground in two stages (after the preparatory stage), is lost in the French system.

PRINCIPLE OF THE TWO SCHEMES.

The *principle* of arrangement is the same in both cases. The subject-matter is arranged, not in the order which would occur to an historian as the "natural" or "logical" order prescribed by the subject itself, but in a "psychological" order, prescribed by the varying interests and capacities of children at different stages of growth.

Accepting this as the true principle, and having in view the needs of an English secondary day school, of the grammar school or "local" type, such as, on the average, keeps its boys from nine to eighteen, we should accept also the three stages, with a few preliminary notes on them.

NOTES ON THE THREE STAGES

(a) The preparatory stage will have partly been done at home or in a preparatory school. Pure narrative may to some seem out of place, even in the First Form. But the text-book will be of the simplest. The subject-matter will be mainly biographical, and the lives selected will be from all ages and countries of European history. The effect of the lessons will still mainly depend on the power of the teacher to "tell a story." It has been shown by experiments that dramatic representations of historical scenes by young children

themselves are most effectual in making an interesting and lasting impression.

(b) In the intermediate stage, from ten to fourteen, boys are ready for history, but with the element of *story* still strongly marked in it. The picturesque and stirring side of things, movement and adventure, and the good or evil fortune of persons, will interest them most. But their interest in their heroes once awakened, they will, for their sakes, willingly learn a great deal about the tedious matters in which those heroes were engaged. At this stage everything seems to depend on two conditions not easy to reconcile: first, *on getting rapidly over the ground* and passing boldly from period to period and country to country; secondly, on giving detail in sufficient abundance to make the narrative imaginable to boys at an age when they see everything "from the small end," in its most concrete and personal form. It will be best perhaps to take chapters of history here and there, the master himself bridging the gaps with needful summaries, but pressing on and keeping the sense of *movement* always lively. If there is a good middle-school library, and the boys are reading "*Hereward*" and "*Old St. Paul's*" and "*Woodstock*" and "*Eiling the Bold*" and "*The Cloister and the Hearth*" and "*Ivanhoe*" for themselves, there will not be so much need for the master to

insist on the picturesque aspect of history in form work.

(c) Accepting Arnold's proposal to connect history at this stage directly with the work in literature, we shall still require, if the history of the people of the Mediterranean and Atlantic sea-boards is to be in any outline, however meagre, present as a continuous series of events to the mind of the pupils at the end of the course, two or three books, such as Freeman's short "General Sketch of European History," Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," or, in the Fifth Form, C. M. Yonge's excellent "Landmarks of History—Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern." Books for reference in the school library become only too abundant at this stage. Besides Grote and Mommsen, and Freeman's "Historical Essays," there are Duncker's "History of Antiquity," and some of the volumes of those two excellent series "Story of the Nations," and "Heroes of the Nations"; and for an introduction to the philosophy of history Maine's "Ancient Law," and Bagehot's "Physics and Polities."

CONNEXION OF THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY WITH THE SCRIPTURE LESSON.

An enormous opportunity and advantage will be thrown away unless, all through the course of

history, the Scripture lessons are so arranged that, among other things, and with due respect to the main purpose for which they are given, they may on the *historical* side help to fill in the outline of ancient history. No small part of our life is Semitic as well as Aryan; and the relation of Aryan to Semite is a most fruitful subject of study. The elementary facts of it can best be given through the Biblical lessons. In the history of the Hebrews we come necessarily into contact with the great Eastern Empires--Egypt, Assyria, and Persia. Later, in the period between the Old and New Testament, the age of the Septuagint version and the Apocrypha, boys may get to know something of a most important epoch, which is, perhaps necessarily, neglected in "secular" history, the Alexandrine epoch and the age of the Hellenistic monarchies. Later again they approach the richest possible mine of historical interest in the "Acts of the Apostles," where East and West meet in the person of St. Paul, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, yet born a citizen of Rome, a son of Benjamin who wrote letters in Greek and quoted Greek poetry and philosophy; arrested in the Temple at Jerusalem for breach of Levitical law; saved from his own countrymen by Roman legionaries to defend himself before Roman governors and to claim a trial at Rome, in the highest court

HISTORY SCHEME

Form	Hours	SUBJECT-MATTER	TO CORRESPOND WITH (in the historical part of the Scripture lesson)
STAGE I.	I. 1½	Some striking scenes from European history, ancient and modern	Patriarchs, judges, and kings in the Old Testament
	II. 2	Chapters from the history of the English people, from their entry into Britain to the present day	Chapters from the history of the Hebrews, from the migration of Abraham to the present day
STAGE II	III. 2	<p><i>First Term</i> — Britain before the coming of the English. The Romans in Britain</p> <p><i>Second Term</i> — Chapters from Roman history down to 145 B.C.</p> <p><i>Third Term</i> — Chapters from Roman history to the invasion of the Teutonic races and the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain</p>	Hebrew history, from the first alliance of the Maccabees with the Romans down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, along with an outline of the spread of Christianity to 500 A.D.
	IV. 2	<p><i>First Term</i> — Romans and Greeks; Pyrrhus, Flamininus, and the Roman conquest of Greece, Greco-Roman life, Herculaneum and Pompeii</p> <p><i>Second Term</i> — Greek history to 145 B.C.</p> <p><i>Third Term</i> — Greek history to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks</p>	Hebrew history, from the first king to the time of the Maccabees; the Jews in Babylon; their return under Cyrus; Alexander the Great; Jews and Greeks, the Septuagint version

HISTORY SCHEME

Form	Hours	Subject Matter	To correspond with (in the historical part of the Scripture lesson)
V.	2	<i>First Term</i> — A reading in modern history, e.g. England under George III, with selections from Burke	
		<i>Second and Third Terms</i> — Rome and Carthage with readings from Livy and Polybius	Hebrew history, from Abraham to Saul, Israel in Egypt; Egyptian and Phoenician civilisation
VI.	3	<i>Modern Side</i> — French history in French authorities	
		In the <i>First Term</i> , Classical and Modern Sides together in a short period of English or other modern history, read in connexion with contemporary literature or the work of a great historian	Special books and periods, read in connexion with the Septuagint and the Greek Testament, more especially the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Epistles of St. Paul and St. John, with the Acts of the Apostles
		<i>Modern Side</i> — Similar study of French and German history	

of appeal, the presence of Cæsar himself. Here we have ancient history of the most important kind—an instance of Roman imperial rule in actual working—with the great advantage that it is history read in an “original source,” and that, literature of the highest value.

It is now possible to conclude the first part of the subject with a suggested scheme of history for a school of the type mentioned above (see preceding page).

SECOND PART OF THE SUBJECT.

Methods of Teaching.

OBJECT OF METHOD IN HISTORY.

The method, as distinct from the organisation, of history teaching has been treated with special knowledge by the writer of the chapter on “Modern History.” I would wish to subscribe fully to all that he says upon the necessity of so adapting one’s method as *to train boys to read for themselves*,¹ and to give a clear and precise account of what they have read. Every subject of teaching has, like every form of government, a “degenerate half-brother” with a misshapen likeness to itself. The corruption of history teaching is unintelligent cram of unexplained “facts.”

1. ‘You come here not to read, but to learn how to read,’ Arnold used to say to the Sixth at Rugby. *Stanley*, c. iii. p. 80.

TEXT-BOOKS.

Mr. Somervell's method of "preparatory questions," or something very like it, is necessary to train boys to the proper use of a text-book. The choice of a text-book is a matter of great difficulty. In the preparatory stage, when we are still at "story" and not yet advanced to "history," we can, if necessary, do without one. In the intermediate stage, the first systematic survey of the ground, the text-book should be as short and as simple as possible. In Forms II. to IV everything must be done to prevent the *premature* introduction of difficulties which ought not to arise until later. No time is more grievously and fruitlessly lost in teaching, than that which is bestowed upon elaborately explaining to a boy at twelve what--without explanation--will be to him, at sixteen, as plain as way to parish church. In the intermediate stage, then, we should have a short text-book, and fill in details at discretion

NOTE-BOOKS.

The boys will, of course, have note-books for history, even in the Second Form--note-books well bound and of good paper, with a wide page, not too closely ruled. In this they will copy maps and sketches from the blackboard, and will write any

fuller account of persons or things which their master may think it is judicious to give them.

ILLUSTRATIONS .

In the middle forms of a school, with boys from ten to fourteen, visible objects are scarcely of less importance as an aid to imagination and memory than at an earlier stage. It may be laid down as essential that no history lesson should be given below the Fifth Form without illustration of some sort, whether by way of map or plan drawn on the blackboard, rough colour-sketch mounted on brown paper and pinned conspicuously to the wall, photograph, coin (actual or fac-simile), a rubbing from a monumental brass or inscription, or something of the kind¹.

CARE NEEDED IN THEIR USE.

Discretion and economy are needed in the use

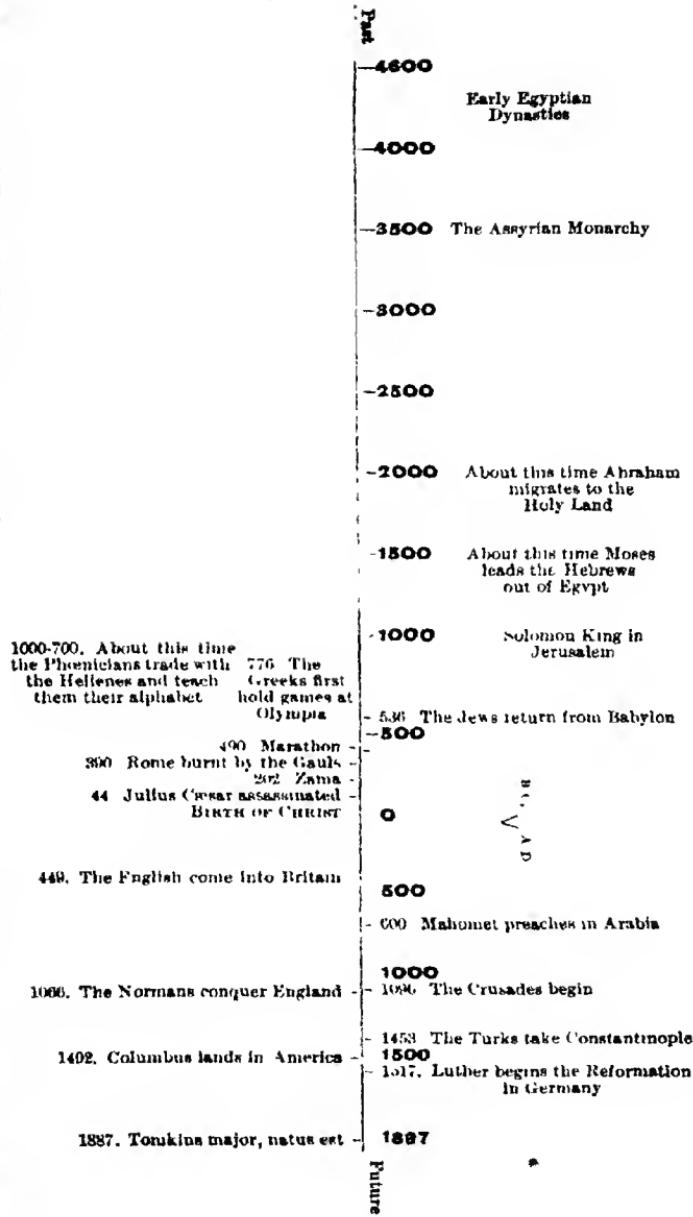
1. A museum has been started at the offices of the Teachers' Guild, Gower Street, W.C., where specimens of historical illustrations may be studied. An excellent series of boldly coloured pictures of striking events in European history is to be seen at the S.P.C.K. offices in Northumberland Avenue. Series of magic lantern slides have been carefully prepared by Messrs. G. Philip and Son, 32, Fleet Street, E.C., to illustrate particular text-books. A catalogue of such a set for Fyfe's History of Greece, with notes by the Rev. T. Field, is to be got from Messrs. Macmillan and Co. An organised system of lantern illustrations for history lessons has been worked out by Canon Lyttelton at Haileybury College. A beginner will find no lack of help in obtaining illustrations, vivid and suitable.

of illustrations. The teacher will find that the simpler and more strictly relevant to the main point of his lesson he can make them, the greater will be their effect. A clear and striking picture or model makes an admirable *starting-point* for a lesson in history. A few questions to the form will insure that they are looking at the important points in it; a rough sketch in their own notebooks, if the illustration be simple enough, will fix the *gist* of it still better. At each new section of the lesson a new illustration may appear, but it is well to be sparing with them, else the show may get the better of the substance. Photographs mean little or nothing to young children (with whom colour is a necessary element for full interest and understanding), but they are very useful with the highest forms, and to be had in abundance.

THE LINE OF TIME.

One indispensable piece of apparatus the boys will make for themselves This is the Line of Time, by which the grim difficulty of "dates" is to be approached. Every boy should possess a strip of paper 2ft. 4in. in length and 8in. broad. Leaving a margin at each end of 1in., he draws a line 26in. long. The right extremity of the line is the present moment in the present year. The

left extremity is a somewhat uncertain point in the "dim and distant" past, to which history can travel by means of the Egyptian monuments. As the line is constantly growing, like a live thing, at one end, and cannot be precisely fixed at the other ("an island at the conflux of two eternities"), any boy will see that we can only measure distances on it by taking a point inside it to work backwards and forwards from. We *might* take any point. Thucydides, for instance, used the point at which the Peloponnesian War came to an end; the later Greeks that at which the first great games were held at Olympia; the Romans that at which they fancied their city was founded, etc., etc. As a matter of fact, we now all agree to use the same point—that which old chronologers assigned for the birth of Christ. A little thought will show that the figure to be assigned to our measuring point must be, wherever we place it, 0. Allowing 2in. to represent in space what 500 years are in time, we shall put our 0 point at $7\frac{3}{5}$ in. from the right extremity of our line, which will now represent 1897 as near as may be. This will leave $18\frac{2}{5}$ in. to the left of our measuring point, which will enable us to go back 4,600 years, enough for practical purposes. The 2-in. points are now to be marked off on the line, to show periods of 500 years. Two inches to the right of 0 will be 500 A.D., 2in.



to the left of it 500 B.C., which we may represent for short by -500. The first date which each boy is to enter on his Line of Time is his own birth, which, if he be ten years old, will clearly be $1\frac{1}{25}$ in. to the left of 1897. So tiny a space he will find difficult to draw. All the more easy will it be for him to draw the moral as to the relative bulk of his own history and that of the rest of mankind. After this first date, he will add others at the discretion of his master. The long strip of paper will be gummed into the last page of his note-book, and neatly folded so as to fit inside its cover, without protruding, ready for constant reference.

A number of important advantages will flow from the use of some such Line of Time, as compared with that of an ordinary "Date Card." The comparative length of modern, mediæval, and ancient history will be seen at a glance. Dates will no longer be isolated, but—as they ought to be—connected points in a continuous series. The analogy of the Christian era to the meridian of Greenwich, each denoted by the cypher 0, will become clear. A little practice will enable a pupil to "visualise" a date on the Line of Time as surely as he can a longitude on the map of the world. And just as a teacher of geography makes a habit of referring a sectional map to the larger one of which it is a part, so will the teacher of history

begin the study of any particular period by "locating" it on the line of universal history, and ascertaining that his pupils know where they are before they enter upon detailed study.

HISTORICAL ATLAS.

Another implement without which history cannot intelligently be studied is a historical atlas. It does not need the authority of Arnold to enforce the necessity of a clear view of the geographical background on which the pictures of history are to be painted. Several historical atlases, fit for class use by the boys, good and cheap, are in the market, besides the great works of Spruner and others, one of which the form-master will have by him as a book of reference.

ARRANGEMENT OF LESSONS.

Thus armed, master and boys will address themselves to the plan of campaign. In the Middle School, from Form II. to Form IV. inclusive, of which we are now speaking, they will be able to count on about thirty-three weeks in the year free of examinations. This will give sixty-six hours for history, of which ten may be set aside for recapitulation. Fifty-six hours will remain for the study of new work, with a certain proportion of

text-book allotted to each. The form of the individual lesson will naturally vary, but at its beginning will usually come a restatement by one or two of the boys of the main points learnt at the last lesson, and at the end a few minutes will be given to a glance at the portion of the text-book to be read before the next, with "preparation questions" as a guide to reading. The lesson itself will partly take the form of an account by the boys of what they have read in the text-book for the day, and partly of an illustrated supplement by the master of points requiring special attention or explanation. Every opportunity, of course, will be taken of connecting the history with other parts of the form work, with the constituency of Cæsar or Xenophon, with the "Scripture" lesson, with English literature, and even with the current news of the day, if so fair a chance presents itself, as, for instance, the famous quarrel between Greece, Turkey, and the "Six Powers" over the future of Crete.

SUBJECT-LESSONS.

It will be well, for an occasional variety, to take a "subject-lesson" outside the text-book altogether. An excellent theme for one such is the History of the Alphabet. It is amusing to trace back our letter F through Roman and Greek alphabets to

Phœnician, and ultimately Egyptian; the horned snake of the hieroglyphics is still to be recognised in the letters of Western Europe. Such a lesson connects together hitherto isolated fields of history, and gives a valuable insight into the pedigree of modern civilisation.

Other subjects may be "The history of some place-names," "The history of titles, Kaiser, Czar, Emperor, Elector," etc., "Egypt and its conquerors, from the Persians to the English," etc., etc.

Visits to museums, or places of historical interest, if carefully led up to, and restricted in scope to a number of points of special importance, may be useful.

METHOD IN THE ADVANCED STAGE.

In the V. and VI Forms, Arnold's view that the teaching of history should be directly connected with the study of some great historian presents so many advantages that, once fairly tried, it is likely to be accepted for good. It concentrates attention upon the really fruitful periods of human history.¹ History, unexpressed by some great writer, is

1. 'Perioden die kein Meister beschrieb, deren Geist auch kein Dichter atmet, sind der Erziehung wenig wert.' Herbart, quoted p. 787 of Rein's *Eucylopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*.

perplexed, difficult and dull; and—whatever its worth to the “specialist”—has little value in school.’ The study of a great historian delivers the form from the tyranny of the text-book, which at this stage takes its proper place as servant, not as master. It introduces boys to the material which lies at the back of written history, and puts history itself in its true light, as an investigation no less than a representation. By its means, boys are introduced, in a natural way, to the great questions in the study of which the chief excellence of school-work in history lies. What is the evidence for this or that statement? How far is the writer biased in his judgment? What light is thrown upon the incident by the comparison of similar cases? The attempt to answer such questions, imperfectly as it must be done, even with a good Sixth Form, yet supplies an inestimable training. It cultivates that “historical sense” or power to weigh evidence and to realise events as a sequence which, as a lasting possession for life, is obviously more useful than any recollection of the subject-matter upon which the faculty was first exercised. It is one of the great advantages of ancient history compared with modern that the materials for historical judgment are usually of such bulk that they can be grasped without a vast expenditure of time.

In this way a reading, say, of Thucydides, Book I. (as edited for schools by W. H. Forbes, and published by the Clarendon Press with reference to the authorities collected in the notes to Grote's History), will make an excellent introduction to the "critical" study of history. So, in a different way, will the study of the early books of Xenophon's "Hellenica." On the side of Roman History a splendid study of this kind is afforded by Livy, Book I., in Seeley's edition, along with Ihne's little book on "Early Rome," in the "Epochs of Ancient History."

THE "COMPARATIVE METHOD."

Arnold's practice of studying modern history, also, with his Sixth, and of using, wherever possible, the method of comparison, e.g. as between the campaigns of Hannibal and Frederick the Great, has other good results besides that of delivering classical students from too narrow a devotion to antiquity. It is the "comparative method" as used by Niebuhr and others which has in this century thrown so great a light on all parts of history, but particularly on the origin and growth of institutions, such as the Patriciate at Rome, and the Archonship at Athens. If one term out of the three be given to modern history,

the other two can be given to ancient. Conversely, on a "modern side," one term will be given to ancient and two to modern history. With this scheme, the critical study of some books of the Old Testament, with reference to the Septuagint Greek, and of the New, in the original, will work harmoniously enough.

METHOD OF INDIVIDUAL LESSONS.

The method, at least, in the Sixth Form, will approximate closely to that of the "Lecture," and the boys will begin to practise the valuable art of taking rapid, clear, and businesslike notes. But a skilled form-master will take precautions to avoid too rigid or monotonous a procedure. The lesson will sometimes take the form of an *investigation* into a point of difficulty. One of the elements in Arnold's teaching which evidently impressed his pupils most was that he himself was for ever learning. He would constantly send for books of reference and "hunt up" what he wanted to find, taking care to express his pleasure at discovering something new or correcting a misapprehension of his own.

ESSAYS, ETC.

Sometimes essays will be set on points of history that will need research in the school library. And the Debating Society will often lead to lively historical discussion. Controversy of any sort, if

only interesting enough, is an effective spur to study. Was Catiline a desperado or a martyr? Did Mary Queen of Scots really write the casket letters? Was the assassination of Cæsar a crime as well as a blunder? Such ancient problems are new to boys, who readily take sides in such matters, and they will not be worse judges later on for having begun by playing the advocate. A world of fascinating reading opens before them as soon as they have knowledge and experience enough to take interest in the theory of government. Selections from Aristotle's "Politics," chapters from Maine's "Ancient Law," and Bagehot's "Physics and Politics", Mill on "Representative Government" and "Liberty," Macaulay's Essays on the "Utilitarian Theory of Polities," have a strong attraction for "politically minded" people in their last year of school, and will lead to more reading afterwards.

TEXT-BOOKS

For periods studied in "outline" a text-book will be used, and happily the choice of such for the V. and VI. is larger and better than for the lower forms. But the style of some is unfortunate. The influence of Mommsen has had an unhappy result—predicted by Freeman—on the way in which some of the great figures of Roman history, Pompey, and Cicero, and Cato, are habitually

written and spoken of. "The poisonous tendency to modernise" has also led to a custom of making the Romans and Greeks serve as texts for homilies on details of politics or morals. But there are still text-books to be found that are free from such faults, and are written in a style not unworthy of the heroic dignity of their subject.

The tradition of Arnold is not extinct, and there are schools in England in which a master's enthusiasm for history communicates a lasting love of the study to his pupils. It is a saying of Stevenson's¹ that "to be wholly devoted to some intellectual exercise is to have succeeded in life." To this form of success careful teaching in history is at least as likely to lead as that in any other subject.

1. In *Weir of Hermiston*

Note on the Literature of the Subject

I have been able to find little in English on the theory of history teaching except the section in Fitch's Lectures. There is an American volume in the 'International Education' series, by Hinsdale, on 'How to study and teach History,' but it contains little that will help English readers. The volume of essays on 'Methods of Teaching and Studying History,' in the 'Pedagogical Library,' ed. by G. Stanley Hall (2nd edition, published Boston, 1896), contains one or two helpful papers. 'Studies in Historical Method,' by Mary Sheldon Barnes (Isbister, 1897), is enthusiastic. It contains a full bibliography of American literature on the subject. There appears to be no recognised authority on the subject in French. The German literature is, of course, abundant. The article in Rein's 'Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Padagogik' gives a full account of it. I have got most from Oskar Jäger's article 'Geschichte' in the 'Handbuch der Erziehungs- und Unterrichtslehre' and the same writer's 'Bemerkungen über den geschichtlichen Unterricht.'

Nineteenth Century
History Teaching

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

[A lecture delivered at the Cambridge University Extension
Summer Meeting, August, 1900.]

Analysis (1) Connexion of the subject of the Lecture with the central topic of the Summer Meeting, "Life and Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century" --(2) The 'historical method' and the 'historical sense' distinguish this century from the '*à priori*' philosophy and the unsympathetic treatment of the past which marked the Eighteenth--Examples of this tendency in the Theory of Government, in Theology, and in Literature and Art. The idea of *development* the central idea in the thought of this century--(3) At the opening of the century the striking feature of the studies of our Universities and Public Schools was, with certain exceptions, the supremacy of the single classical curriculum, as instituted at the Revival of Learning--This contained 'implied History,' although History was not taught as a separate 'subject' --(4) The Nineteenth Century is marked by the break-up of the single curriculum--History emerges as a substantive subject--attempt of Thomas Arnold to preserve unity in the scheme of a liberal education--History the central subject in his system of practice, as it was in Herbart's system of theory--(5) The last third of the century sees 'specialisation' dominate our studies--The treatment of History in every grade of our schools is unsatisfactory--(6) The great requisite for the progress of our education in the Twentieth Century is a simpler and clearer idea of a liberal education--Place of History in this idea.

It is sometimes made a point of objection to meetings such as the one that we are all attending during these weeks at Cambridge, that the lectures

delivered at them are upon topics so various and so many that the effect is mainly to bewilder and to distract. The student, it is said, goes from discourses on Dante and the Nebular Hypothesis in the morning, to addresses on Bacteriology and the Music of Richard Wagner in the afternoon. His hasty and rather puzzled pilgrimages from one quarter of the town to another are, according to our critics, a fit symbol of his wandering attention; and the farrago of his note-book is a picture of the confusion of his mind. Such a criticism may have an element of truth in it, although it is based on an exaggerated disbelief in the power of the mind to deal with and to arrange the material which the mind receives. But we may claim that the Syndicate has on this occasion provided us with a core of thought round which we may group our ideas, and so has given a certain unity of action to our drama. "Life and Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century" is our unifying conception, in relation to which we are to arrange all the multiplicity of our notions on the many subjects of our Time-Table. It is a historical conception and therefore in intimate connexion with the special subject of my own lecture, which is that of the Teaching of History.

History in its widest sense is perhaps the most characteristic form of intellectual activity in the

nineteenth century. Incalculable as has been the influence of the study of the natural sciences, it may be doubted whether after all the influence of history in all its different forms has not been greater still upon the life of the nation.

If one contrasts roughly the prominent type of mind towards the close of the eighteenth century with the prominent type in our own generation, one may question whether any difference goes quite so near the centie as this, namely, that in the eighteenth century the *historical sense* was in a great degree absent or undeveloped. Take the chief spheres of national life and compare them, then and now. In the theory of government and law the eighteenth century dealt with its problems abstractly and metaphysically. Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, working out the suggestions of Hobbes, produced *a priori* doctrines on the nature of Sovereignty, on the Social Contract, on the Rights of Man, which were completely un-historical in character. In England they had their counterpart in Bentham and the Utilitarian School. These theories profoundly influenced the great final movement of that century, the French Revolution, which was an organised attempt to abolish the history of a nation, and to create a new *régime* in a vacuum. On the other hand, the nineteenth century has seen the Theory of Govern-

ment put upon a historical basis. Here, in Cambridge, Sir Henry Maine in his famous work on *Ancient Law*, and many other jurists have worked out the comparative study of politics and the origins of political ideas, and have given us the new conception of the State as a growth from primitive conditions and customs, a growth which, if it is to be healthy, must be gradual and continuous. The practical polities of the century have confirmed this historical conception : those elements of the national life which *a priori* philosophy in France had sought to abolish by decree — the Monarchy, the Nobility, the Church — have proved to be living forces, which the new *régime* has to struggle with in a bitter war, whereof the issue at this moment hangs in the balance after frightful reverses and frightful victories for one side and the other. By contrast, in England the principal institutions of the State are in a position to-day of far greater security than a hundred years ago, because they are seen in a historical perspective, and their defence is based not upon logic but upon prescription.

The same general difference between the two centuries is observable in points of theology and religious practice. The Tractarian Movement in the second quarter of this century and the Biblical Criticism of its third and fourth quarters are of

a strikingly different character from the Wesleyan movement or the Deistic Controversy of the eighteenth century; and the distinction may be most shortly expressed by saying that in the eighteenth century the main appeal is to *à priori* arguments and to religious or philosophical dogma, while in the nineteenth it is to history and to the historical method that the disputants turn for their weapons.

So, also, in Literature and Art, the Romantic Movement which marks the beginning of this century and is associated with the names of Wordsworth and Walter Scott, and the later Pre-Raphaelite movement led by Rossetti, and Holman Hunt, and Millais, and supported in certain aspects by Ruskin, originated in a return to earlier models and in sympathies which we may call historical. Similar influences have inspired our architects and our house furnishers: Pugin and Gilbert Scott and William Morris have gradually altered our national taste by taking us back to medieval examples. In the Drama we have at least so far acquired the historical sense that we should not be able to tolerate a Macbeth in the guise in which David Garrick presented him—a periuke and silk stockings, conspiring with his lady in a hooped skirt and a turban. Even in history itself, the whole tone and

atmosphere have changed. The mighty work of Gibbon, however accurate in mere statements of fact, is falsified by a lack of historical sense and historical sympathy, such as incapacitated him from understanding either the early Christian Church or the life of the Middle Ages. One has only to compare him with Ernest Renan to see the gulf that divides history as we conceive it now, from the unimaginative and unsympathetic treatment which it received 120 years ago. So also our entire conception of the nature of language has been revolutionised within this century by a study of its history and by the consequent discovery at the hands of Schlegel of the Indo-European family of tongues, and of the cousinship of English, and Greek, and Sanskrit. Even the greatest scientific generalisation of the century—the theory of evolution—in a sense belongs to, and has itself profoundly affected, the realm of history, since it reveals the long process of infinitely slow development by which animal and plant life have come to be what they are. It is, in fact, the idea of *development*, the central idea of history, which, more than any other single idea, characterises the thought of the nineteenth century.

Ours then is the century of development, the century of history. It is in accord with this fact that we find that the study of history as a separate

subject in our Public Schools and Universities first emerges during this period. It would not indeed be true to say that History was not taught at all before 1800. The Professorships of Modern History at Oxford and Cambridge were founded as long ago as 1724 by George I. But these foundations seem to have produced no striking result either in the shape of original research or of influence upon University studies until the present century. The University of Oxford rather resented the endowment as a Whig political move. "Not only," says Dr Stubbs, "did they acknowledge the receipt of the King's letter in a most contemptuous way, forwarding their letter of thanks by a bedell, but, when by due pressure and by the example of Cambridge compelled to send a formal answer by a deputation to the King, clothed it in such words as showed that the introduction of the new study was looked on as an unwarranted interference with the educational Government of the place." And it is quite certain that no holder of the Professorship down to the time of Dr Nares in the early years of this century did anything to overcome the sullen suspicion with which the foundation of the chair was first received. At Cambridge the only one of the Royal Professors of Modern History during last century whose name is remembered in this was the Poet

Gray. So again in regard to the Public Schools it would not be exact to say that there is no trace of History having been taught a hundred years ago. Thus Dr. James, who was Headmaster of Rugby from 1778 to 1794, used to devote the first lesson of the week, which began at seven o'clock in the morning, to the subject of Scripture History varied in a regular cycle with Goldsmith's Roman History and the History of England. This was, however, only the case with the Fifth and Sixth Forms. I cannot find that History was taught in the lower part of the school. And the single hour before breakfast given at Rugby appears to have been wholly exceptional. I have not been able to discover anything similar at Eton, Harrow, or Winchester. Even at Rugby one could hardly say that History formed a part of the regular curriculum. So that, speaking broadly, we may say that History as a separate subject formed no part of the course of studies at the Universities and Public Schools in the year 1800. On the other hand, the curriculum, such as it was, embodied some of the most important facts of European History between the age of Pericles and the Revival of Learning, and formed in itself a historical document or relic of an extraordinarily interesting kind. The classical curriculum of our Universities and Schools which continued until

well on into this century, practically unchanged, was itself in its origin a result of a movement for reform, a movement which like those of our own time assumed the shape of an appeal to the past and a return to earlier models. The history of intellectual progress is marked by a series of revolts against systems of education, in which the human spirit seeks to save itself from being strangled in formalities of its own making, by struggling back to a more primitive and less complex stage in its own development, by appealing from the Rabbis to Moses, from the Aristotelians to Aristotle, from the Fathers to the Apostles. Such a revolt was the substitution of the great classic writers for the works of the Schoolmen, a revolt consummated in England in the sixteenth century. Perhaps the essential advantage of this change was that it put in the hands of schoolboys and students books which, directly or indirectly, contained the history of Mediterranean Europe at its highest point of culture. Scholasticism, as was natural from its deductive methods, had no place in its curriculum for history; classicism, although it did not teach history as a specific subject, yet offered its students historical material of the most precious kind. Thus while it is true that in 1700 history was to all appearances no more recognised as a part of the

curriculum at Oxford or at Winchester than it had been in 1500, yet we must remember that at this later date our ablest scholars read, as a matter of course, the great masterpieces of Ancient History as well as the great Poets whose works illustrated—as nothing else could illustrate—the history of the age in which they wrote. Thus we may speak of the classical curriculum as Implicit History, because it contained in itself, not consciously disengaged from literature, a mass of historical material.

At the close of the eighteenth century, however, classicism had in effect fallen too completely into the hands of the commentator and the versifier, and the subject-matter of the great classic writers had ceased to be studied with the enthusiasm of the sixteenth-century scholars. The intellectual life of our Schools and Universities was torpid and unproductive to the last degree; the great stimulus of the Revival of Learning had spent its force. It may even be doubted whether Oxford at the very close of the scholastic period was quite so profoundly asleep as she was towards the close of the classical period. "For a moment," says Mr. Rashdall in his great book on the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, "for a moment the human world was brought into real and living contact with a new world of thought and action by

the 'New Learning': but ere long classical education in turn became arid and scholastic—as remote from fruitful contact with realities—as the education of the Middle Ages. The history of Education is, indeed, a somewhat melancholy record of misdirected energy, stupid routine, and narrow one-sidedness. It seems to be only at rare moments in the history of the human mind that an enthusiasm for knowledge and a many-sided interest in the things of the intellect stirs the dull waters of educational commonplace. What was a revelation to one generation becomes an unintelligent routine to the next. Considered as mere intellectual training, it may be doubted whether the superiority of a classical education, as it was understood at the beginning of this century, to that of the medieval Schools was quite so great as is commonly supposed. If in the scholastic age the human mind did not advance, even Macaulay admits that it did at least mark time. The study of Aristotle and the schoolmen must have been a better training in subtlety and precision of thought than the exclusive study of a few poets and orators."

If you carry your mind from 1800 to 1900 and survey the period between you will see that the significance of this century in the history of the higher education is that the single uniform

curriculum of the classics which, with certain modifications (as for instance the great attention given in Cambridge to mathematical studies) had been handed down just as it was from the age of the Renaissance, has been broken up, that alternative schemes of study have been admitted side by side with the classics, and that even where the classics remain the chief staple of the intellectual training given, other subjects, in particular mathematics, history and modern languages and a little natural science have been superadded. The unity of the curriculum in the places of higher learning has been, for the time at any rate, lost and the era of *specialisation* has begun. The full effect of this immense revolution in our education is but little grasped by any of us as yet. However we are not here concerned with the general theory and history of our higher curriculum but with the fortunes of a single portion of it.

The great impulse which the Romantic Movement in Literature led by Sir Walter Scott gave to the study of History took effect in general literature, in private reading and in private schools, more particularly in schools for Girls, some time before it touched the general body of the public schools. In the second third of the century, Thomas Carlyle and Macaulay began to exercise their prodigious influence over the

English middle classes, an influence which has perhaps done more than any other single cause to familiarise the national mind with historical images and historical ideas. Neither can be called a professed teacher of history Macaulay declined the Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge when the Prince Consort offered it to him, and Carlyle lectured, not at a University, but by way of private venture, in the Portman Rooms in London. He gave four series of historical lectures—in 1837, 38, 39, and 40. In this last year his subject was Heroes and Hero-worship, and this was the only series of the four that he ever wrote out and printed. It is with Thomas Arnold that the systematic teaching of History in our public schools begins. His headmastership at Rugby lasted from 1829 to 1842. His peculiar glory in the records of our education is that whereas, when he came to Rugby, he found on one side a society of Boys with a strange corporate life of their own with games, institutions, and laws of a spontaneous and irregular growth, and on the other side a system of instruction and religious training entirely without relation to or influence upon that corporate life, he contrived to fuse every part of the school energies into a unity with a central purpose. The self-governing commonwealth of the Boys themselves he retained and confirmed,

with certain modifications, but this commonwealth was to be so truly ordered as to train its members to take afterwards an active part in the life of the larger commonwealth of Church and State; the instruction whether religious or secular was to interpenetrate and to illumine the life of this commonwealth by introducing the boys to the history of other such communities and to the great literatures ancient and modern by which the ideas of those communities at their best, have been interpreted and expressed. In Arnold's conception, the English gentleman must not only learn to rule and to be ruled, and to play football and to speak the truth, but he must also understand the history of his country and the history of Christendom, and the literature of Greece and Rome, which along with the sacred books of the Hebrews lies at the foundation of Christendom. The unity of education, the unity of history are his moving ideas; and we shall fall short indeed of the true estimation of Arnold's work for the study of history, if we confine it to such matters as his co-ordination of geography with history, his constant use of the blackboard in historical instruction, his comparative method of treating ancient and modern history, or even to the admirably devised cycle of historical lessons which he embodied in his school curriculum. Infinitely

more important than all these important things was the clearness with which he himself apprehended and taught others to apprehend, the bearing of literature and of history upon life, and of life, in its turn, upon literature and history. He thus put upon an entirely new basis the claim of the old classical curriculum to furnish the best training for the modern Englishman. Our innermost intellectual and spiritual life, our laws, politics, religion are charged with forces which we cannot understand nor wisely deal with unless we study them in the light of the single continuous historical process by which they have come to be what they are. Arnold therefore, like Herbart, concentrates and unifies his curriculum; but he does far more, he concentrates and unifies the whole of human life; the core of his circle of studies is active Christian citizenship, and their proportionate value depends upon the degree in which they help to make that citizenship intelligent and earnest.

Arnold's influence as a teacher of History was, of course, not confined to his work at Rugby. In the last two years of his life, 1841 and 42, he held the office of Professor of Modern History at Oxford and, short as his tenure of the chair was, he roused the greatest interest and enthusiasm by his lectures, and placed the study of History in a

position of importance which it had never held before. He also profoundly affected the views of his successors and likewise of those who held the corresponding Professorship at Cambridge. Edward Freeman at Oxford and Charles Kingsley at Cambridge in very different ways continued to expound the views of Arnold. The famous saying that "History is past Politics, and Politics are present History" was one of the sides of his teaching upon which they laid most stress, and which in the last quarter of this century Seeley made the central idea of his work as Professor at Cambridge, in this slightly altered form, "Without History, Politics has no root, without Politics, History has no fruit." This was a view which, to some minds, appeared to have its dangers, and there arose in opposition to it a school which demanded that History should be regarded as a purely abstract antiquarian subject, and that the bearing of the past upon the present should--as a possible cause of prejudice and partisanship--be strictly kept out of its judicial investigations. Of this school Bishop Stubbs, who was appointed Professor at Oxford in 1867, has been the most distinguished representative in England. Under the influence of men of this way of thinking the efforts of historical students were bent specially to discover the exact and minute truth before any

inferences should be made from it. Time forbids us to do more than mention the immense services performed by this school of historians and by the Public Offices which under their inspiration have, both in England and abroad, issued copies of ancient documents, charters, and records such as have revolutionised our ideas more particularly of the Middle Ages.

This split of the historians into the political school and the antiquarian school was followed by further subdivisions. Social life and customs, details of dress, household furniture and the like and all that we vaguely include under Archæology or Anthropology, had a greater attraction for some scholars than the history of political or municipal institutions, and we have seen arise in this last third of the century a School of Archæologists which by its excavations and researches have reconstructed before our eyes the minutest details of ancient domestic life. One might pursue this process of specialisation and subdivision into many other branches, but it is enough to say that the study of History has become a general name for several groups of highly differentiated scholars who work exclusively at special sides of the whole historical field.

The consequence of this has been one, which is, in a way, a direct contradiction of the view of

Arnold. It has been thought necessary to divide History from Literature, and to make it a parallel and as it were alternative subject. A special Tripos in History was established by a Grace at Cambridge in 1873 and the first examination was held in 1875. A similar step had been taken some years before at Oxford, where, however, for some time the school of history was combined with the school of law. Henceforth, at both Universities, it became possible to graduate in History, as an alternative to Mathematics or Classics.

The general upshot of this was a curious one. We have seen that, up to the time of Arnold, History was practically not taught as a subject at our Public Schools and Universities. His influence, however, was so great, and was backed by such an overwhelming weight of social opinion that History came to be studied more or less thoroughly at both one and the other. This process was, however, an exceedingly gradual one. When the Public School Commissioners published their report in 1864, it was still the case at Winchester that neither "ancient nor modern history is taught in set lessons, and ancient history does not enter as a separate subject into any of the school examinations." "I wish," says Dr. Moberly, the Head Master, to the Commissioners, "we could teach more history; but as to teaching it in set

lessons, *I should not know how to do it.*" It is worth while to compare with this remark of the good Doctor's a passage in Mr. A. F. Leach's *History of Winchester College*, where, describing the extreme aridity and dulness of the purely classical studies, even in the Sixth Form, he says that the one or two exceptions to this dulness lie in his memory as for instance when one day in the year 1866, Dr. Moberly came into the room and told them that war had been declared between Prussia and Austria. He delighted the boys by giving them a vivid account of the relations of those two powers in the past, and of the circumstances which had brought on the war, and he wound up by hazarding the prophecy that the war would perhaps last the lifetime of some of them. As a matter of fact the war was over in six weeks. This was just two years after Dr. Moberly had said that he should not know how to teach set lessons in history.

This entire absence of the set teaching of History at Winchester in 1864 may be compared with the account of the elaborate system of teaching of the subject, as now conducted there, given on pp. 220, 221 of the *Report of the American Committee of Seven on the Study of History in Schools*.

Similar particulars might be given with regard

to other Public Schools, but the main point is that whereas in the first third of the century, history was scarcely taught at all, and that in the second third it was introduced into Rugby by *Arnold*, and elsewhere by his pupils and followers, as for instance by Vaughan at Harrow, in the third section of the century it practically became universal in Schools, in one form or other, and was made a Special subject at the Universities as one of the alternative avenues to a Degree in Arts.

The specialist character given by this change at the Universities to the study of History seriously threatens its position as a part of a liberal education. Arnold's view was, as we have seen, that History was essential to a comprehension alike of literature and of life, and must indispensably be taught in appropriate shapes to every class of the School.

On the other hand, the recent view tends to the specialist conception, namely, that History is one of a number of options which a boy may choose between, as soon, at any rate, as he reaches the age of 15 or 20. While the classical specialist is doing Greek Iambics, the history specialist is reading Mommsen and Stubbs, and the mathematical specialist is doing the Binomial Theorem or Trigonometry.

An exactly similar conception prevailed until

this very year 1900, in the Primary Schools. History was an option which might be taken or left at the discretion of the schoolmaster, with the further provision that it must *not* be taken if any two other class subjects were selected. Thus if Geography and English Grammar were taught at any Elementary School, *ipso facto* History was excluded.

This extraordinary view of knowledge—that you can cut it into slices like a melon, and that it is unwholesome for any one person to take more than two or three of these slices for himself, has practically destroyed within the present century the idea of an "all-round" liberal education in England. That idea does not exist at our Universities; it does not exist at our Public Schools; it *does* perhaps exist, though precariously, at some of the Girls' High Schools, through the introduction of the Block Grant in this present year of grace.

But at the moment we see the paradoxical result that the emergence of History as a distinct subject from Literature, so far from securing it a safe place in the curriculum of a general education, threatens to relegate it to the limbo of alternative specialisms, along with Organic Chemistry and the Integral Calculus. Poor Clio! scarcely had she once more taken her place among the Muses,

welcomed by her sisters of Poetry and Science, than she and the rest of them are torn from the lovely group in which they moved with arms intertwined, and shut up by the grim inquisitors of mysterious Examination Boards, into separate compartments, where, in spite of their shrieks, they are cut up into subdivisions, such as archaeology, palaeography, anthropology, epigraphy, and I know not what. Every subdivision is carefully dried into mummy, and then labelled Part I. Division II. of Subject xxxiii. (e) in some University Calendar.

We all of us know the forces which have relentlessly driven us in this direction. The difficulty is truly a great one. The field of knowledge has been extended and deepened during the last 75 years to a degree unparalleled in the previous history of mankind, and the question how to give a general education which shall be at once wide and at the same time not superficial, has been made immensely more complicated. It is to that question, on the solution of which our intellectual vitality in the future more than on any other depends, that we shall have to address ourselves in the twentieth century. I venture to think that Herbart in theory, and Arnold in practice, have done much to suggest the practicable solution. We must lighten our curricula not by throwing

away this or that indispensable limb of the organic unity of knowledge, but by making those curricula consciously represent that unity, by showing the organic connection of their different parts and obliging each subject to play into the hands of all. When we seriously set ourselves to carry out that task, we shall find that history, in its widest sense, as the record of the process by which man has come to be what he is, already furnishes a subject by means of which it will be possible to correlate the various aspects of knowledge, as they have in positive fact been correlated in the gradual upward progress of humanity

History in
Elementary Schools

MEMORANDUM ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD (1901).*

It has become necessary to consider afresh the way in which History should be taught in Public Elementary Schools. This necessity arises out of the alterations made last year in the fifteenth Article of the Day School Code, affecting the relations hitherto subsisting between the course of instruction and the method of allotting the Parliamentary Grant.

I. POSITION, UP TO 1900, OF THE SUBJECT OF HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

Up to 1900 History has been one of a number of "Class Subjects" on two of which (but not more

* NOTE.—The following pages contain the condensed results of much consultation and study. The writer has to thank Mr. M. E. Sadler and his staff in the Department of Special Enquiries at the Board of Education for access to documents relating to schemes of History Teaching in use abroad. Grateful acknowledgment must also be made of the ready and valuable assistance given, both orally and in writing, by officers and teachers in the service of the School Board for London, as well as by personal friends of the writer.

than two), grants might be claimed in respect of the scholars of a class, provided they reached a satisfactory level of attainment. Thus History has not hitherto been an obligatory subject in English Elementary Schools: it has been one out of a number of alternate subjects. Among these alternatives it has been the least popular. Reference to the opening pages of the "Report of the School Management Committee of the School Board for London for the year ended at Lady-day, 1899," shows that in that year out of a total number of 834 school departments under the Board's management which presented children in class subjects, only 158 presented History. The figures are much more striking if the number of children—not the number of departments—is considered. The total average¹ attendance on which grants for various class subjects were allowed was 522,680, while the average attendance in classes earning grant for History was only 20,765—that is, just about four children out of every hundred took History as a class subject.

The corresponding figures for England and Wales at large are as follows: the number of school departments taking class subjects in the

1 N.B.—The figures quoted above are the last available, but they represent an incomplete report. The figures (complete) for the year 1898 are 26,761 out of 581,978, or less than five per cent. taking History.

year 1898-99 was 23,041. Out of this total, 21,882 took up Object Lessons, 17,049 took Geography, 13,456 took English, and only 5,780 took History. [Report of the Committee of Council on Education, England and Wales, 1899] It has no doubt been the case in many schools, in which History has not been presented as a class subject, that nevertheless, lessons in History have been given. And in every school without exception the rule has held good that out of the three reading books in every class above the Second Standard¹ one has been a "History Reader." But the broad fact remains that systematic instruction in History has not been obligatory in English Elementary Schools, and that it has been given to only a small percentage of the total number of scholars. In these points there has been a contrast between our schools and those of every other civilised nation in the world, so far as I am aware.

II. RELATION OF HISTORY TO THE RE-ORGANISED CURRICULUM OF OUR SCHOOLS

It is clear from these figures that History may, for practical purposes, be called a new subject in our schools. Is it to be added, over and above, to the old curriculum? If so, how are time and

1. *Vide* Footnote to Schedule I. at the end of the Day School Code.

energy to be found for it, without over-pressure both for scholars and teachers?

This question makes it necessary to consider the whole course of instruction as re-modelled under the new system of awarding grants.

Section (b) of Article 15 in the Day School Code now reads as follows:—

“The course of instruction in schools for older¹ scholars is as follows:—

“(i) English, by which is to be understood Reading, Recitation, Writing, Composition and Grammar, in so far as it bears upon the correct use of language

Arithmetic

“Drawing—for Boys

“Needlework—for Girls.

“Lessons, including object lessons, on Geography, History, and Common Things.

“Singing, which should as a rule be by note.

“Physical Exercises.”

“To be taken as a rule in all schools.”

After these subjects, which are “to be taken as a rule in all schools,” there follows, in paragraphs

1. “Older scholars”—i.e., above the Infant School.

numbers (ii.) and (iii.), a list of optional special subjects, "to be taken when the circumstances of the school, in the opinion of the Inspector, make it desirable."

A note is added to paragraph (i), that "it is not necessary that all these subjects should be taught in every class. One or more of them may be omitted in any school which can satisfy the department that there is good reason in its case for the omission."

The latter part of this note refers, no doubt, to schools working under peculiar difficulties of staffing and so forth, and not to any school under the management of the School Board of London.

It is clear, therefore, that in the subjects grouped together as "to be taken as a rule in all schools," the Code presents us with a summary of the education which, in the opinion of the Board of Education, ought to be given to every child who passes through the Public Elementary Schools; while in paragraphs (ii.) and (iii.) certain desirable subjects are added which should be taught in the higher classes, if they can be so taught without detriment to the indispensable subjects named above.

Paragraph (i) gives us, in a word, the irreducible minimum of a liberal education; that amount of things which everyone, whatever his

special occupation is to be, ought to be trained to know or to do, as a free man.

It is of extreme importance to keep this view of the matter clearly in mind, because elementary education, thus regarded, has a unity and simplicity which are otherwise only too easily lost sight of. If we add religious knowledge (which the Code leaves, conditionally, in the hands of school managers) we have it as our aim in the Elementary Schools to impart to every scholar such a training in the knowledge of God, of mankind, and of nature as will at least save him from being a loss and a danger to himself and to others. If there is time to go further, so much the better, but to go thus far is indispensable.

The result of the previous system was to divide and to complicate the course of instruction: the result of the recent reform should be to restore unity and coherence to it. Disconnectedness and scrappiness were the consequences of awarding grants on separate "subjects." Now that grant is to be given for education as a whole, it will be possible to arrange a course on lines at once simpler and wider.

The purpose of elementary education being to enable a man to act intelligently for himself and others in the world in which he finds himself—to "adapt himself," as the phrase goes, "to his

environment"—the inclusion of "History" in the course ought not to be considered as the addition of a new subject; it ought rather to mean an explanation of the essential facts and forces in the condition of mankind as it is now, and as it has been in the past, an explanation which will serve to put a man into intelligent relations towards the community of which he is to be a member. So little ought this to be felt as an addition to the curriculum, that, if properly carried out, it ought to lessen the difficulty of the remainder of the course, and to throw light upon what would otherwise be perplexing and unintelligible. In other words, it ought to arise quite naturally out of the other "subjects," it ought to answer questions suggested by the study of the mother tongue, or of Geography, or of the actual living world.

The scholars in our schools are already brought necessarily into contact with a considerable quantity of historical material. The Scriptures of the Old Testament cannot be studied intelligently without some rudimentary knowledge of the ancient empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia, for the history of the Hebrews is, to a great degree, an account of their relations with those empires. The story of the Gospels and of the Acts of the Apostles requires no less clearly some summary notions about the Greeks, in whose language the

New Testament was written, and about the Romans under whose government Christianity was founded and spread. A study of Geography, of the chief races of mankind and their territories, cannot be undertaken rationally without the accompaniment of an outline of their history. English Literature and Language are obscure indeed without constant illumination from the History of England and of Christendom. And the events of our own time, with which the older children are familiarised through common talk and the newspapers, suggest a thousand points of contact with the events which stirred their fore-fathers to a pitch of patriotic feeling equal to their own.

All this material is already to hand—it should be the aim of the lessons in History to organise it, to arrange it clearly, to connect one part of it with another, and to put the scholars in possession of such information as will enable them, if they wish to do so, to pursue the study of the subject after they shall have left school.

The very wholesome apprehension, therefore, that the new arrangement of the curriculum might lead to further complexity and pressure among competing "subjects," is to be met by the consideration that, on the contrary, this arrangement gives an opportunity to unify the curriculum, by

closely connecting it with the actual life of the children [that is with their spiritual and intellectual life, as well as their physical], and by so linking up the several parts of it as to make one subject play, as it were, into the hands of another. Thus, the practical necessity for economy of time, points in the same direction as the educational necessity, for connectedness and clearness in the matter to be taught. The fact that so short a period of time is all that is available in the Elementary Schools must always be kept in view; and the conclusion must be drawn from it that *we have time only for what is most important and best*, and that we are unable to spare any for what is second-rate or trivial. Where it becomes necessary to choose between two things each of which is, in its own way, valuable, it will be necessary to make the choice on grounds not of their abstract value, but of their value to the children concerned. Thus Algebra may, no doubt, be taught in such a way as to provide an excellent mental training; but if the circumstances of any school are such that the choice lies between foregoing History and foregoing Algebra, a sense of educational proportion will decide that History should be retained before Algebra. A man who is ignorant of Algebra cannot be called "uneducated" in the same sense as a man who is ignorant of

History, nor is his ignorance likely to be so injurious to himself and to others.

It is not easy to calculate precisely what amount of time is likely to be available for the lessons in History. In the lower standards, the claims of the "elementary subjects" are paramount, and Reading and Writing, in especial, absorb a large number of hours. Above Standard IV it is possible to transfer a considerable amount of their time to more interesting matter, but on the other hand Manual Training has to be provided for with the Boys, and Cookery with the Girls. The advice of experienced teachers in the service of the Board has been taken on the point, and some tables showing typical distribution of hours in London Schools are printed as an appendix to this Report. It will perhaps be safest to say that in Standards III. and IV. the time available for oral lessons in History will vary from about $1\frac{1}{4}$ to about 2 hours, and in Standards V., VI and VII., from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, while in the Higher Grade Schools it may be possible to contrive a minimum allowance of 2 hours for History. This time ought to be altogether apart from the time given to Reading Lessons with "History Readers."

III. REFERENCE TO THE EXPERIENCE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

How can the short time thus available be used to the best advantage?

We have, ready to hand, the experience of foreign countries in which the teaching of History has long been regarded as a vital part of the national training in the Primary Schools.

Englishmen, however, while ready to learn as much as possible from foreign examples, more particularly where foreign experience goes back for many years, will feel that there are two points in which such models are not to be followed:—

- (i) History lessons ought not to be made a vehicle either for partisan feeling in home affairs, or for international grudges in the discussion of foreign politics. The English spirit of fair play to opponents condemns alike the republican propaganda carried on in the schools of one great continental nation, and the anti-socialistic crusade which is maintained in the schools of another. International bitterness may be kept alive for generations by unfair or unwise history-teaching.
- (ii) A detailed syllabus precisely uniform for all schools is not advisable, because it leaves too little room for the initiative and the individual interests of the teacher. The highly centralised continental systems tend to depress local variety and personal enter-

prise in the scheme of instruction. What is required is rather a guide in outline than a minutely prescribed routine. Within the limits of this general outline, managers and teachers should be encouraged to frame their own syllabus.

With these two points in mind, it should be possible to take full advantage of foreign experience. The syllabus in the French Schools is particularly clear and suggestive; it has been the work of men of great distinction, who have set a high value upon the effects which good instruction in this subject might be likely to produce for the national life. It will be found, translated, in an appendix to this Report. In Prussia the features of chief value seem to be

- (a) The rich historical element in the *religious* teaching, extending not only to Hebrew History, but also to the History of Christendom in outline.
- (b) The excellent use made in the lessons on the mother-tongue of pieces of poetry and prose which have a national and historic interest;
- (c) The high character of the reading books, which are larger and fuller than the corresponding books in England, and are not "written down" in the same way to the

supposed level of children, but consist, in the higher classes at least, of passages from standard authors.

- (d) The use of national songs for school music, including not only patriotic songs (which, in Germany, are of a noble type alike in words and in melodies), but also old folksongs, relating to the lives of peasants and huntsmen, and so forth, and containing vivid pictures of old times;
- (e) The direct instruction in History is confined to a continuous series of biographies taken from German History between A.D. 1600 and the present time, together with a few representative biographies from earlier German History. "So far as the children are able to grasp it, the chief features of the progress of civilisation are also to be dealt with."

The most valuable contribution of Germany to the teaching of History in Schools is to be found in the educational writings of Herbart, whose main principles have been followed in this memorandum.

In Switzerland, the course prescribed varies in the different cantons; the matter is mainly Swiss History, with just so much of foreign history as bears directly upon it; the method is oral narra-

tive reinforced by a reading book. I was present once at an admirable piece of "story-telling" by a Swiss teacher in a little village-school in the Canton de Vaud, and the effect of the lesson upon the class was so strong that I was able to realise how pride in a common history, carefully fostered at school, can keep together in political union a number of scattered cantons, separated in some cases by high alps, and estranged from one another by differences of blood, language, and religion.

In the United States of America, there is great diversity in different parts of the country in regard to the History instruction. An appendix to the extremely interesting "Report upon History in Schools by the Committee of Seven," published by the Macmillan Company in 1899, shows that expert opinion believes that this diversity is so extreme as to be mischievous. "It is not possible to discuss here," says the writer of the Appendix (p. 159), "the advantages of uniform curricula within limited areas, but it may be noted that progress in education has invariably followed the adoption of such an uniform course, and that those nations that have uniformity to-day have, as a rule, the best systems of education. With two exceptions, the ten States of the Union that have no uniform course of instruction are among the most backward in America in all matters of public education."

The Appendix to this American report concludes with a "practicable scheme" for History Instruction in Elementary Schools, which may be outlined thus:—

Grade III (children of about 8 years of age).—

Stories from Homer, the Sagas, etc.

Grade IV.—Biographies of great men of all ages and nations

Grade V.—Greek and Roman History to 800 A.D.

Grade VI — Mediæval and Modern European History

Grade VII — English History

Grade VIII (children of about 13 years of age). American History

IV. WHAT PURPOSES IS INSTRUCTION IN HISTORY INTENDED TO FULFIL FOR THE SCHOOL CHILDREN OF LONDON?

Passing now to the problem of the ideal course in History for Elementary Schools in London, we must revert to the opinion already put forward, that the supreme advantage of the new system of awarding grants lies in the fact that it restores

unity and simplicity to the main body of the curriculum, and enables us to consider a scheme of historical instruction which may be in the most vital and interesting relation (i.) to the actual lives, in school and after school, of the children themselves, (ii.) to the remainder of the school curriculum.

If it be granted that the main purpose of elementary schooling is to put the scholar in the way of understanding what, in essential points, the environment of his life, physical and mental, is to be, and of acting rightly upon the understanding thus gained, then what we call his "History Lessons" will have a definite part of this task to accomplish, and the syllabus of history will be adjusted as means to this end.

The vitally important purposes which the historical part of his instruction has to serve for the scholar may perhaps be summed up as the following --

- (1) To furnish pictures of human life, connected with tales of human experience and types of human conduct in the chief epochs and among the chief races of mankind, and thus (a) to provide the ideas which must be the substratum of all the later work, (b) to suggest and nourish those feelings of human

sympathy and admiration which are of such vital importance in forming the will, and ultimately the character, of the child. Such tales are to be found in the simplest and most appropriate form in primitive folk-stories and poems

- (ii) To give an outline of the story of the British people, with clear pictures of representative incidents and representative men and women; and to connect this outline with the state of the nation at the present day.
- (iii) To give some conception of the growth of London and of its position now as the centre of a world-wide commerce, and the capital city of an immense dominion; and to take advantage of every visible monument that connects its present with its past.
- (iv) To convey some idea of the long and difficult process by which human civilisation has come to be what it is, and of the debt under which we lie to the great men of all nations.
- (v) To give rudimentary notions of the way in which the business of a great people is carried on, and of the duties and opportunities which free citizenship implies, both in our local and our national affairs.

- (vi) To explain, in an elementary way, how History comes to be written, what are the materials for it, and what is meant by "evidence" for a supposed historical fact; how History may be studied, where to look for the best books, and how to carry on the pursuit of it after the school life is over.

These may be taken as the main purposes of History lessons in the Elementary Schools of London. It is plain that only the most "elementary" points can be taken under each head, but it is worth while to recollect that "elementary" in this connexion ought not to mean merely the easiest or the most commonplace, but the most *essential* and the most *fruitful* parts of the study. Careful selection must needs be made, and those "elements" must be taken which are richest in suggestion, and fullest of interest and of meaning. Half a million of children are receiving instruction under the School Board for London; and for the immense majority of these, the instruction so received will be *the only systematic mental training which they will get, all their lives long*. It seems clear, therefore, that nothing vital can safely be omitted altogether, but at least a beginning must be made of each indispensable topic.

By the amendment of Bye-Laws passed by the Board on 18th October, 1900, the age for compulsory attendance was raised to fourteen, and the standard for exemption was raised to VII. It will therefore be safe to count on the mass of the children remaining through the seven standards.

The following course of instruction is proposed to meet these various points

V.—CONNECTED SYLLABUS OF LESSONS IN HISTORY,

	HISTORY
STANDARDS I. & II	Tales from the great national collections, such as "The Sagas," "The Morte d'Arthur," "The Arabian Nighete," "The Poems of Homer," &c., to be illustrated by wall-pictures, and to be told orally.
*STANDARD III	Representative scenes and persons from British History : outline of the story of the British people.
*STANDARD IV.	The same but with fuller details—especially in reference to Scottish and Irish History
STANDARD V.	Heroes and Heroines of European History, ancient and modern, in peace and in war
STANDARD VI.	The growth of the British Empire, and of its capital, London ; lives of the great discoverers, inventors and warriors. First lessons on Citizenship. Visits to the Tower, St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey.
STANDARD VII	Thirty-five lessons on Citizenship, local and national. Visits continued Thirty five lessons on a special period of about thirty years (e.g., the reign of Elizabeth, or the Long Parliament, or the Age of Anne), with reference to writings of the time and visits to buildings and monuments ; first notions on the materials of History and the use of evidence Home Reading and the use of Libraries.
EX-VII.	As in Standard VII. Varied series of special periods, ancient and modern, British and Foreign.

* NOTE.—It will be seen that the History work allotted to Standards III. and IV. is an outline of British History, with representative scenes in detail. Some teachers will prefer to break this subject-matter into two sections, and take the History from B.C. 55 to 1500 A.D. in Standard III., and from 1500 A.D. to the present time in Standard IV. Others, adopting

GEOGRAPHY, ENGLISH LITERATURE, AND MUSIC.

LITERATURE.	GEOGRAPHY	MUSIC.
The same, with simple tales in verse. All exercises in "English" to be connected with these	Easy explanation of terms arising out of the tales.	Easy old English airs
The same, with easy verse, such as the "Loss of the Royal George," &c	England	Simple national songs of England and English Life.
The same.	The British Isles	Songs of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales
Selections from the "Lays of Ancient Rome" and easy ballads	Europe	Easy songs of all nations
"Lyra Heroica," Southey's "Life of Nelson," &c	The Port of London, commercial routes, steamer lines, sketch of the British Empire	Dibdin's sea-songs, &c
Standard works in prose and verse from the great writers of the special period selected	Connexion of Geography and History influence of climate and soil on national life and industry, effects of great mountain ranges, seas, and rivers, &c	More difficult songs of all nations.
As in Standard VII Home Reading of historical novels	Advanced study of Physical Geography and of the History of Geographical Discovery Commercial Geography	—

the "concentric method," will prefer to cover the whole ground each year, but with greater fulness and detail in the second than the first. There is much to be said for both plans, and experiments in both should, I think, be encouraged, and the results carefully compared.

**VI. HOW SHOULD THIS SYLLABUS BE DEALT WITH
IN THE STANDARDS?**

Experienced teachers of the two lowest standards seem to be pretty well agreed that oral teaching centred round large, brightly-coloured pictures is by far the most effective. It was in this way that Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, taught history to little children. A great deal depends upon the *selection* of the stories to be told. Theory and experience are at one in showing that tales of "the childhood of nations" are the fittest material, told as far as possible in the manner of the old poets and romancers. Such stories cannot be replaced by modern substitutes; they are rich with old fancy and adventure, and preserve the living spirit of earlier ages. For this reason they are "historical" in a more important sense than any account of actual events can be: they are the "abstract and brief chronicle of the time." Their spirit and temper are akin to those of children; the conditions of human life which they depict are simple, striking, and easily imagined. Story-telling of this kind is a fine art, which needs constant practice and the careful study of the great masters of narrative; but it is an art that delights both teacher and taught, and it makes a lesson in literature as well as in history. Care should be taken

that the *circumstances* of the stories, the old ships and weapons, and houses and raiment are fully realised by the children. It would be a great help for such work if several series of pictures could be prepared to illustrate the "Tale of Troy," and the "Arabian Nights," and the "Romances of Chivalry and the Crusades," together with books for the teachers containing the stories in simple form.

In Standards III and IV a History Reader might, for the first time, come into use, giving a bright account of the story of the British people, with a few of the most important scenes in detail. At this stage, as in the two first standards, illustrations are an indispensable aid to interest and to memory. The magic lantern for certain purposes is the best of all illustrators. I gather from enquiry among teachers in London that its use has been found to enliven history work as nothing else can do; but if it is to become part of the regular apparatus of the subject, it follows that there should be at least one lantern in every school; that the supply of slides should be abundant, and constantly renewed; and that a record should be kept of those used in the different standards, with notes on their varying effectiveness for teaching purposes. Unless the slides are carefully adapted to the actual lessons given and employed to reinforce the really important points, they become a

mere show, which, so far from leaving any permanent deposit in the mind, may even dissipate attention. The Central and Divisional Offices of the Board have already, I understand, done much valuable work in organising appliances for instruction. This work might with advantage be still further extended, and a number of easily accessible museums or collections of educational apparatus established in different districts. The History section of the Teachers' Guild Museum might yield suggestions.

In Standard V a valuable set of lessons may be given on the lives of representative heroes and heroines of European History. The tendency hitherto has been to confine the attention of the children solely to their own country. Such a tendency cannot be any more defensible in History than it would be in Geography. It cannot but tend to produce insularity of ideas, and to foster that false form of patriotism which ignores or despises other countries. A study of general History, in however rudimentary a form, would reveal the truth that Englishmen are under a debt hardly less great to the people of other races than to their own. A valuable help to teaching of this kind would be afforded by a Calendar of Great Men and Women, if such could be prepared by teachers specially interested in this side of school

work. It might be grouped under the chief departments of human activity, and be representative of every phase of the progress of mankind.

In this connexion, reference must again be made to the valuable effect which might be produced by a careful syllabus of lessons in the *historical* study of the Scriptures. As three or four hours a week are devoted to Scripture Lessons, it should be possible to provide such a course without encroaching on the expository or hortatory side of the teaching of this subject. Indeed, lessons on the history and geography of "Bible Lands" and "Bible Nations" should be a stimulating variety, more particularly if only the most interesting and important points were taken, and if an attempt were made to cover, in bold sweeps, a large stretch of the history of antiquity, on its social and picturesque side. The materials for illustrating historical lessons on the Old and New Testament are abundant and accessible to a degree far exceeding those available for any other form of history. The great Missionary Societies, the Exploration Societies of Palestine, Egypt, and other Oriental countries have produced pictures, books, photographs, and lantern slides in endless variety. This is a side of the work in which all denominations, and indeed persons of every way of thinking, could join with complete unanimity. Perhaps a

reference to the Scripture Syllabus Committee in this matter might lead to the drawing up of a series of lessons on these lines, to cover the school course from Standard III. to Standard VII., and to embrace an elementary account of the Eastern Empires and of the Greeks and Romans in special relation to their connexion with the Hebrews and the Holy Land.

One of the many problems of method which beset a teacher in giving history lessons is this—how are the children to be made *active*, and not merely receptive, in such lessons. How is it possible to provide them with *things to do*, corresponding with map-drawing in Geography, composition in English Literature, and so forth? This problem may be attacked in Standard V., partly by making the lesson in History *an exercise in the use of books of reference*, and encouraging pupils to “hunt things up” in dictionaries of biography, and to consult the indexes of larger works on History, kept in the school-library; partly by getting them to draw *chronological charts for themselves* of a clear and simple kind, such as Professor Miall describes in his helpful work “Thirty Years of Teaching,” or such as are set forth in the essay on “Ancient History,” in the volume edited by Mr. P. A. Barnett, called “Teaching and Organisation.” Experience shows that

the making of such charts is a great pleasure to scholars in Standard V. and upwards, and that it puts life and interest into the otherwise dreary subject of "dates."

In Standard VI. the main idea of the course might well be "London, as the Capital of a Great Empire." The correlation of the History and the Geography, which has been kept in mind throughout, becomes specially fruitful here. It should be understood, however, that the Geography (as also the Literature), is meant to be *co-ordinated* with, and not subordinated to, the course of History lessons. Geography is a substantive subject and ought not to be treated as merely auxiliary to History. On the other hand, there is every ground for taking the various topics of both Geography and History in such an order that they may mutually illustrate and reinforce one another throughout the school-life. For these reasons, two courses, of History and Geography respectively, are educationally more valuable than a single course of History and Geography blended. London as a port and as a railway centre can only be understood with constant reference to British Commerce and British Colonies and Dependencies, and these again imply connected notions on the expansion of British Dominion. At this point the children should be old enough, and advanced

enough, to profit by visits to great monuments of local and national History. Such visits are already made in a good number of schools, and the teachers with whom I have conversed on the subject speak strongly of their valuable influence in quickening interest and intelligence. I understand, however, that there are difficulties in organising them. Individual application in every case has to be made to H.M. Inspector, and this implies some correspondence and possible delay, which, if the visits are to be systematised as a regular part of the instruction in the upper standards, would amount to a considerable impediment. It might be possible to overcome this difficulty by working out a complete scheme of such visits for the schools of different districts, and by applying beforehand for the sanction of H.M. Inspector for the arrangements of a whole year. Another, and more serious difficulty, is that of expense. In this point also central management and regular contracts might go far to diminish the obstacles in the way of an extended use of this most stimulating means of instruction. If rightly conducted, visits to historical sites and buildings exert an influence which no amount of mere talking or reading can possibly produce. Like the slides of a magic lantern, however, they easily degenerate into a mere show, unless they are carefully led up to by

appropriate instruction, unless they are so managed as to concentrate the scholars' attention upon selected points of interest, and unless they are made the basis, later on, of exercises in composition, and, wherever possible, in drawing. I have watched experiments conducted in this way, and my own experience confirms that of the London teachers as to their extreme value. Expenses connected with them ought to be regarded as incidental to "practical" or "laboratory" work in history, inasmuch as such visits bring the children into sensible contact with things which, otherwise, remain mere bookish abstractions.

In Standard VII. other elements besides those of the picturesque and stirring may properly be introduced. At this point, some attempt, however brief and rudimentary, should be given to introduce scholars to the "Science of History," and to some concrete idea of how a history book comes to be written, what materials the historian uses, and what kind of evidence he has for his statements. If visits to historical sites and collections are continued in this standard, lessons of this sort will be easily interwoven with them, and even if only two or three such lessons can be arranged for, will have, as I can testify by experience, a lively interest for the more intelligent of the scholars. At this point systematic lessons on citizenship,

local and national, and the high and responsible duties which free government confers on every Englishman, will come in their natural place, as the practical application of what has been studied in the lower classes. For these lessons the most potent aid will be the corporate life of the school itself. Where a school is so organised that the older scholars have responsible functions in connexion with its discipline and the management of its library, clubs, and games, they get a training for public duty, and in the management of common interests, which can be obtained by no other means. Work on committees, the election of officers, the control of funds, the drawing of a balance-sheet of a society's accounts, the management of a school library, the selection of a cricket team--these and similar activities give pupils an opportunity of ruling and obeying, and of understanding, through the government of their small commonwealth, the essential principles of organisation on the grandest scale. It is training of this kind which has formed the most valuable element in the life of our famous "Public Schools."

With the older scholars it will also be natural to do all that is possible to start them in habits of private study such as may be a life-long pleasure to them. The use of a school-library may do much towards this. But the intelligent study of history

in the highest classes will constantly entail the use by the boys of a good reference library. Skilful teachers often set questions "to be looked up," and encourage in every way the habit of consulting books other than mere school text-books, and such work is of great value. So also is the kindly effort of those who form reading circles in connection with the National Home Reading Union, which may be carried on after the boys leave school. Of all the subjects in the school curriculum, History perhaps lends itself better than any to home-reading, and to the cultivation of the reading habit. It would undoubtedly greatly further this desirable end if scholars were freely allowed to take their history books home with them, and, if in the upper classes at least, they were provided with books of a good size, of which it should be understood that only parts were to be read in school, and the remainder studied at home.

Much, also, might be done by strengthening the Teachers' Libraries by the addition of such books as illustrate the original sources of History and methods of teaching it—e.g., Miss Dodd's "Introduction to Herbartian Principles of Teaching." Extracts from, and *fac-similes* of, original documents, photographs, casts of coins and medals, etc., all serve a useful purpose.

Other subordinate aids have been successfully

employed by enthusiastic teachers. "History in the Making," "History Day by Day," "Current Events," are sometimes illustrated by an "Events Board," on which extracts and pictures from newspapers may be posted up. Children readily co-operate in a plan of this kind.

Of high value, also, are the celebrations—quietly and discreetly carried out—of great national events and national anniversaries. If care is taken that they appeal to the thought and the responsibility of children, as well as to their love of excitement, they may give rise to lasting impressions of a common share in the life of a great human society. Such impressions relieve the routine of the school programme, and help to colour the whole round of school duties. Music and song may be a powerful aid to this purpose, and it will be noticed that in the syllabus proposed an essential element has been the study of old national melodies, many of which are as beautiful as they are simple and strong. Such melodies have a powerful influence, not only in rousing but also in refining the feelings of children. Their value to the school is twofold; they supply a form of music infinitely superior to the fourth-rate tunes specially written down to a mistaken idea of the taste of our schools, and also they illustrate much of our history and of old English social life. Dibdin's "Sea Songs" make

a stirring accompaniment to the story of British enterprise and adventure. The Jacobite Songs give life to lessons on the first half of the 18th century. The old Hunting Ains and Country Songs bring a wholesome and bracing influence into close urban school-rooms. So, also, the national and favourite melodies of foreign nations may be used to illustrate their characteristics and their history. The abundance, variety, and musical richness of the "Folk Melodies," used in German Elementary Schools, may well attract the attention of English students of education.

In Higher Elementary Schools and in Evening Continuation Schools, the work of the standards will naturally be continued and deepened, partly by a second complete survey of British History in outline; partly, by the study of special periods, so far as possible with reference to original authorities, both in British and in Foreign, Ancient as well as Modern History; partly by a more detailed study of economies and of the functions and duties of the English freeman, such as is scheduled in the code for Evening Continuation Schools. A great deal has already been done to make the teaching of History an important subject in the Evening Schools of the London Board. Possibly the use, in a simple form, of "laboratory" or "research" methods in addition to lectures, would

quicken the active interest of the scholars in this subject. Here, also, as in the Day School, much depends on the right use of concrete and picturesque illustrations. Throughout the course of study one might take as one's guiding principle a saying of Professor Seeley's slightly modified:—

“Without History, Citizenship has no root; without Citizenship, History has no fruit.”

It is because of its bearing on the future of our civic and national life, even more than an account of its value to the imagination and the understanding, that the study of History may claim an honoured place on the time-table of our Primary Schools.

If the syllabus given above is accepted as a “skeleton,” it will be for every school to put flesh and blood between its dry bones, by drawing out and submitting schemes of lessons for each standard. These schemes will represent the particular needs of different localities, and of different types of scholars, together with the individual interests and enthusiasms of teachers. They will distinguish carefully between the work done as “reading” with a “Reading Book,” and the “lessons” on special topics delivered orally. They will show the variety and freedom which

alone can make a syllabus live and move, while, at the same time, they will pursue the great chief aims, and conform to the main principles, which should be common to history-teaching in all schools, and which have been expressed in the outline-syllabus. In some such way as this the extremes alike of anarchy and of rigidity in the work may be avoided.

New Authorities
in Education

THE NEW AUTHORITIES IN ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The point which England has reached in the task of organising her education is critical. We require to understand exactly what the state of things is now, what the object is that we wish to achieve, and what are the means proposed for its achievement. If we could only secure that English children should be brought up in the best way practicable, it would make a quite infinite difference to them and to the future of the country. About that we are agreed. At present they are being brought up, for the most part, in ways that are far from the best possible, and that might be improved promptly. About that we are agreed. What we want, at this moment, is to look carefully, so that when the time comes we may leap boldly. If we do not look carefully now, it will not save us that, when the time comes, we leap feebly and nervously, or, worse still, haltingly shift our feet on an impossible position.

We need, then, first, a clear idea of our object; second, an accurate knowledge of our position and resources (to be reached by a process of comparison with those of other nations); and third, a vigorous

adjustment of every ounce of our means to the achievement of our end;—we need clear strategy, thorough reconnaissance, appropriate and energetic tactics. Above all, we require, when the hour for action arrives, to subordinate any “political” or “official” ends to the educational end, just as, in another field, we ought to subordinate them to the military end.

I.

Our object is to improve our education. The point in which it most conspicuously calls for improvement is universally acknowledged, although it is somewhat variously expressed and defined. The Earl of Rosebery, in a speech at Chatham on the 22nd January, 1900, puts it in this way:—“I humbly think that in this country we live a great deal too much from hand to mouth. We do not proceed by scientific method. We go on the principle that things have carried us so well so far, that we are a noble nation, that we are pretty numerous, and that we have always muddled out right in the end. . . . But I say this: that we are a people of enormous waste. We waste simply by not pursuing scientific methods. . . . Germany is infinitely more painstaking and scientific in its methods than we are. . . . In commerce, in education, and in war, we are not methodical, we are not scientific, we are not abreast of the more advanced nations of the day.

And if we want to keep our place, we shall have to consider the lessons we have been taught in this respect. Depend upon it, however brilliant you may be, the tortoise of investigation, method, and preparation will always catch up and overtake the hare, which leaves everything to the inspiration and effort of the moment."

Our education, says Lord Rosebery in effect, like our other activities, suffers from our "hand to mouth" or "rule of thumb" way of doing things, a way which is always dangerously wasteful and clumsy, but is certainly fatal when it has to deal with circumstances wholly new and exceedingly complex, such as have never been thumbed or handled before. What we need, he adds, is "investigation, method, preparation"

This is no fresh discovery. A complete generation has passed away since Matthew Arnold proclaimed it, importunately, opportunely, in Blue Books, and Reviews, and wherever he could get a hearing. It is nearly¹ thirty-two years ago that he wrote as follows:—"The idea of science and systematic knowledge is wanting to our whole instruction alike, and not only to that of our business class. While this idea is getting more and more power upon the Continent, and while its application there is leading to more and more considerable results, we in England, having done marvels by the rule of thumb, are still inclined to disbelieve

1. 1868, in "Schools and Universities on the Continent."

in the paramount importance, in whatever department, of any other. And yet in Germany everyone will tell you that the explanation of the late astonishing achievements of Prussia is simply that everyone concerned in them had thoroughly learnt his business on the best plan by which it was possible to teach it to him. In nothing do England and the Continent at the present moment more strikingly differ than in the prominence which is now given to the idea of science there, and the neglect in which this idea still lies here; a neglect so great that we hardly even know the use of the word science in the strict sense, and only employ it in a secondary and incorrect sense."

What our chief and most dangerous deficiency was, in Matthew Arnold's eyes, in 1868, that it still remains, in Lord Rosebery's, in 1900. Both, in different ways, are exceptionally gifted, and exceptionally experienced observers, both arrive at the same conclusion. What we lack is "investigation, method, preparation," painstaking and scientific method," "the idea of science, and systematic knowledge."

It is indispensable, before we go further, that we should be clear as to what both these critics mean by "science" and "scientific method." For, most unhappily, what Matthew Arnold called the "incorrect and secondary" sense of the terms is still mainly prevalent in this country. Science ought not to mean "natural science" alone, but

the whole body of systematic knowledge, whether in the "humanities" or in "nature-studies." There is a science of history, and of literary criticism, and of law, and of every kind of human activity just as truly as there is a science of zoology or of chemistry. Scientific method, it is true, differs in its applications, though not in its ultimate principles, with the various subject-matters of which it treats. It is of the essence of scientific method (which means the best-informed, the most flexible, the most rational method) that it should so differ. And just because scientific method varies, it becomes essential that a "man of science" should have an all-round liberal training before he devotes himself to his "specialist" study. Otherwise he is likely to be unscientific in every province but his own.

By "science," then, our two critics mean that intelligent habit of mind which leads to "investigation, method, preparation," a "painstaking and systematic" treatment of the subject, whatever it be, which it is called upon to deal with. In this sense, the "scientifically" minded man is one with a trained power of thought, an aptitude for the careful collection and comparison of data, and an ability for concentrated reflection upon the data so obtained. One can tell in five minutes whether a man has this habit of mind or not, by the way in which he will address himself to a new book or a strange fact. He has a trained instinct for the

appropriate method required by the particular investigation; if he has not the requisite knowledge, he knows at least that he does not know. And further, he knows where, and how, he can get to know the best that has been hitherto thought and written upon the subject, and what kind and degree of certainty he will be able to reach in regard to the problem which occupies him. He knows that men have arrived at mastery over themselves and over nature by a severe effort to see things as they truly are and by the play of high imagination and intense reflection upon things thus truly seen. By no other process will he expect results of any value either from himself or from others.

All this is a thice-told tale. It was put by Plato and by Aristotle with a clearness to which we "moderns" can add nothing. It is only repeated here in order that we may formulate again what it is that we are aiming at when we say that we want to improve our education.

We are aiming to produce a certain *habit of mind*, the habit of "investigation, method, and preparation" applied in their appropriate forms to the various aspects of the whole body of systematic knowledge, a habit which shows itself, first, in a many-sided interest, and secondly, in a many-sided capability, a habit which results in a mastery over self and a mastery over things.

Such a statement of our end will supply us with

a touchstone by which we can very readily judge the worth of our present system of education in its different parts, and also the worth of certain proposals which are being made for its improvement. But before we proceed to apply the touchstone, it is necessary to stay for a moment to consider in what sense Englishmen would be willing to accept this as a statement of the end at which they are aiming in their efforts after a better education. It must be admitted at once that Englishmen care little or nothing for such an end viewed as mere "culture," or "knowledge for the sake of knowledge," or under any of the other forms which appeal to the German mind so strongly. It is not natural or attractive to them in such a guise. They view education not as an end in itself, but sometimes as a matter of religion, sometimes as a matter of society, sometimes as a matter of commercial or industrial effectiveness. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," appeals to an Englishman. So does, "He that hateth instruction loves death." He is touched also when he is pulled up short in any of his numerous activities by lack of the requisite knowledge to go further. He hates a "muff" and a blunderer, and he is quick to see when anybody outdoes him in some dexterity by better knowledge. Above all, international rivalry, whether in war or in trade, puts him upon his mettle, and, in time, drives him to "go into training" and to "get the

thing up." Nor need the Englishman be ashamed of this way of regarding education. It was from the point of view of the "polity" that Plato and Aristotle looked at it; it is in its relation to the "social organism" that much modern speculation looks at it. A community of men, a "social organism," is a living body which must like any other living body - harmonise its nature with its environment and its environment with its nature. Every living thing is called upon for a ceaseless effort of adaptation: when the effort slackens, the live thing grows old; when the effort ceases, the live thing dies. In a "social organism" this adaptive effort is exerted chiefly upon its still growing tissue, that is upon its younger members, who are, as it were, plastic and susceptible to vital change. Education, thus regarded, is the instinctive effort which the social body makes to adapt itself to vital needs. A right habit of mind then becomes no mere accomplishment or grace, it is a condition of continued national vitality. We *must* as a nation get to know the truth, and transform ourselves in conformity with it, or else pay the penalty and go under to nations more far-seeing and more energetic. This is the way in which Matthew Arnold put it to us thirty years ago, and this is the way Lord Rosebery put it to us the other day. We *must* adapt ourselves to our environment, or prepare for senility and death. But consider what an environment that strange organism has

which we call the British nation. Its environment is formed not merely by "natural forces," nor by the pressure of competing national organisms, but also by its own destiny and the position which it has won for itself in the world. Consider its vast complexity: our Oriental religion, our literature, learning, and language drawn in great part from the civilisation of ancient Greece and Rome, our Teutonic constitution and manners, our modern material enterprise, our huge plexus of industrial and colonial activities. Such an environment requires not merely a stupendous output of energy, but, by its constantly increasing complexity, calls for a more and more complicated and careful study, a growing flexibility and versatility of mind.

It is this call that our education seeks to answer; it is because the answer is inadequate that we endeavour to improve our education. We need stability of character, we need energy; but these qualities we may, with some warrant, claim in a great measure to possess, and our education, as it exists, does much to foster them. But we also need a trained intelligence, a power of severe and concentrated reflection, a many-sided interest and a many-sided capability, a habit of mind flexible and versatile, resourceful, and apt for "investigation, method, and preparation." These are qualities which we acknowledge that we plentifully lack. But we must work for them, for they are the pre-

requisites of successful national vitality in the case of a nation with so complex an environment as ours. And we must judge proposed improvements in our education by constantly enquiring how far they are likely to conduce to this desirable habit of mind.

II

We have stated our end, we have got our touchstone. But before we proceed to apply it to the criticism of proposals shortly to be laid before the country through Parliament, we must first very briefly survey our present position and forces. We must reconnoitre the ground before we can begin satisfactorily to consider how our means are to be adjusted to our acknowledged purpose.

Our opportunities of making such a reconnaissance are becoming rapidly greater than they were. For primary Education we have the Reports issued yearly by the Education Department. For Secondary Education we have the Report of the Royal Commission (generally quoted as the "Bryce Commission") in 1895; we have Mr. Graham Balfour's admirable book "The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland," published in 1898; we have the excellent series of "Special Reports on Educational Subjects," which, under the editorship of Mr. M. E. Sadler, have served as the Reports of an Intelligence Department for Education. But, if we are to apply here also our

main guiding principle and to admit that what we chiefly need is "investigation, method, preparation," and "systematic knowledge," we must affirm, at the very outset, that what is first wanted is a Central Department for Secondary Education, so manned and equipped that it may give, with authority, and after a clear review of actual facts, such a description of the present state of our Secondary Schools as may enable us to deal with them according to knowledge.¹ We have not yet got a lucid and complete account of the different agencies and institutions, private, proprietary, and endowed, which are at work in higher education. We are still labouring largely in the dark, "hand to mouth," by "rule of thumb," in the hope that we may "muddle out right in the end."

At the very outset of our reconnaissance, therefore, we are forced to confess that we do not properly know the country, and that we have no authoritative and trustworthy map of it. The "scientific habit of mind" obliges us to begin by saying that, before anything else is done, we must call for the prompt making of such a map, founded on a survey to be carried out by the only possible authority, viz., an adequately manned and equipped Central Department of Secondary Education.

Of the schools at the two extremes, it is true, we know fully enough for our purpose. The great

1. The Education Department Returns of Secondary and other Schools of 1897 and 1898 are admittedly incomplete.

Public Schools, the so-called non-local schools, whose heads are represented at the Headmasters' Conference, number about 25,000¹ pupils. We have ample information about them and their courses of study, and their method of government. The recently published lives of Edward Thring and of R. H. Quick have given us a body of valuable criticism from within. Those who know them best would probably agree that the national defect shows itself conspicuously in them. They have bred generations of men possessed of energy and stability of character and of the power to obey and to command: but they not yet succeeded in communicating to the general body of their pupils a trained intellectual habit, an idea of scientific method, a power of severe and concentrated thinking, a many-sided interest and a many-sided capability. But no one is better aware of it than the masters of these great schools themselves; nowhere more than in these schools has there been of late years an effort made to come at the causes of this defect, and, so far as possible, to remove them.² The effort is not systematic, it is not scientific. But the blame for the want of "investigation, method, and preparation" in this respect lies rather with the public at large and the Universities than with the great schools. Oxford

1. About 24,000 in 1897. *Vide "Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland"* (Graham Balfour), p. 157, footnote.

2. The recently held Education Exhibition at the Imperial Institute gave ample proof of this.

and Cambridge have only recently begun to move in the study of Education, and even now they have no properly equipped Board of Studies in the subject. The country has had no one to collect the information and to do the thinking in matters of Education, as it has had in matters of Law or Medicine. A schoolmaster in full work can no more adequately search and reflect upon the theory and practice of his art than a busy doctor with a large connexion can do. For the great schools, what is needed is a thorough study of Education at the Universities by men with sufficient leisure and opportunity to get at the facts and reflect upon them. There ought to be nothing in the genius or the tradition of the great schools that should make it impossible to graft upon the splendid public spirit and energetic character, which they already have, the scientific habit of mind and the idea of systematic knowledge, in which they are still to seek.

But these schools have all the resources which wealth and influence can give them; they are ably led; they may be left to work out their own salvation.¹

Passing from them to the Primary Schools, we pass from a group of 25,000 pupils to a group of

1. I have said nothing about Girls' Schools at this point, because there are no Girls' Schools which quite answer to Eton, Winchester, and the like for boys. The sisters of the Public School boys are not yet to be found, in any great numbers, at the Girls' High Schools, which correspond rather to the great town Grammar Schools.

5,500,000. Taking boys only, there are at least 100 in the Primary Schools for one in the Public Schools. This great mass of children are under instruction, roughly speaking, for six years, from their fifth year to their eleventh. The conditions under which this instruction is given are such that it is extremely difficult to develop by its means even the rudiments of that trained mental habit of reasonable method which we have stated to be the main object of our Education. There is no doubt, however, that recent changes have all been in the right direction; the substitution of inspection for examination is greatly in favour of more intelligent teaching. But a vast deal still remains to be done. The curriculum of our Elementary Schools is at once narrow and complicated, and the different "subjects" are dealt with in an artificial and mechanical way. Thus of the four "subjects" of History, Geography, Elementary Nature Knowledge, and Elementary English, not more than two may be taken in any one school. Yet it must be clear that nothing is so likely to prevent the growth of a "scientific" or "reasonable" type of mind as to teach History without Geography, or Geography without Nature Knowledge, or any one of the three without the rudiments of an understanding of the Grammar of the Mother Tongue. Again, some sort of training in manual arts, treated rationally, not mechanically (as in the Swedish form of wood-work), is for young children an invaluable intro-

duction to sound habits of work in all subjects. A boy who can cut cardboard or wood, accurately, for the making of some simple, useful article, to a design drawn and, at least in part, invented by himself, may be said to have the root of sound method in him. Yet manual training is not an obligatory part of our primary instruction. Drawing is taught in an abstract and dull form, divorced from all connexion with actual life and from concrete visible objects, and with little relation to either use or beauty. The pupil-Teacher system— in spite of the strong recommendations of the Departmental Committee of 1897—remains, at least in the rural schools, largely unreformed. The employment of wholly unqualified teachers [under Article 68 of the Code] is, in country districts, largely on the increase. Of these teachers there were 8,534 in 1893 and 15,136 in 1898¹. The large use of unskilled labour and of child labour for the difficult work of instruction is mainly due to the financial necessities of the Voluntary Schools. It is a scandal to our national life that some business-like compromise² has not yet been arranged between sensible men of all ways of thinking, by which the ecclesiastical quarrels, which cripple half the schools of the country, might be smoothed.

1. Education Department's Report for 1898-9, p. xxiv.

2. On some such lines as those suggested by Mr. T. Horsfall, of Manchester, in his important pamphlet "Reforms needed in our System of Elementary Education," published by J. E. Cornish in 1897.

over or adjusted. As it is, Voluntary Schools refuse local control, and thereby shut themselves out from the aid of local rates. And this necessarily implies the lack of means for further progress. The denominational difficulty appears again in the inadequate supply of Training Colleges for Primary Teachers. Most of the old Residential Colleges, with the notable exception of those founded by the British and Foreign School Society, were largely built with denominational funds, and they are preserved for denominational purposes by the imposition of a test on entrance. The new type of Training College - the so-called Day Training Colleges, affiliated to Universities - receive a grant at a rate much below that assigned to the old type, and are, therefore, unable to meet at all adequately the lack of accommodation. In the meantime the Primary Schools continue to be staffed to a very large degree by unskilled, or half-trained, teachers.¹ This is strikingly at variance with the state of things in France and Germany, and must plainly be remedied, if we are in earnest in wishing to see the "idea of systematic knowledge" more widely diffused among our population.

Just at this moment, however, public interest is mainly concentrated upon the large body of schools which lie between the great Public Schools on one

1. The figures for 1898 were 59,874 certificated teachers, 26,736 uncertificated assistants, 31,038 pupil-teachers, and 15,136 "additional" (i.e., unqualified) teachers, under Article 68.

side and the Primary Schools on the other. This is a dim region, a debatable land, of which, as has already been said, we possess no complete and authoritative survey. Mr. Sadler's Intelligence Department, if one may so call it, has done all that was possible--without full powers--to get at the statistics; and we may say roughly that, boys and girls together, there are about 300,000 pupils now at work in such schools. The condition of these schools, in respect of curriculum, staff, equipment, and administration, varies enormously. The Endowed Schools have, without doubt, made conspicuous progress since the Taunton Commission reported in 1869; great things in the last quarter of the century have been done by Proprietary Schools, especially for Girls, under the guidance of such associations as the Girls' Public Day School Company. Some remarkable experiments have been made by Private Schools, such as those which M. Edmond Demolins so vivaciously described in his notable book, "*A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons*" [Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1897]. But the Report of the Royal Commission in 1895 again affirmed, upon the evidence collected by them, that which was the common belief of qualified observers, that the condition of our Secondary Schools left much to be desired, and much that was, with proper organisation, capable of prompt improvement. The defects might be classified as defects of (a) administration, (b) staff, (c) buildings and

equipment, (*d*) instruction. As to (*a*) the main defect arises from want of any connexion or co-ordination between authorities. This is true, not only of the authorities of single institutions, but even of those public authorities which deal with many different institutions. Thus Educational Endowments, yielding an income of about £700,000 per annum, are under the general control of the Charity Commissioners, who have issued new schemes for so many of the old Grammar Schools. But the Charity Commissioners have no official connection whatever with another public authority, the School Boards, which in many places have been supplying, through the so-called Higher Grade Schools, a type of education which they believed, rightly or wrongly, that the old Grammar Schools neither could nor would provide. This new type has undoubtedly drawn pupils away from the older schools. Thus in the same district, public authorities are, with public money, organising rival institutions - a confused and wasteful system, certainly not "scientific" in Lord Rosebery's sense.* There are, however, other authorities in the field, who render the confusion worse confounded. The Science and Art Department, after contenting itself, for some years, with offering certificates and grants to classes, or groups of classes, began in 1872 to encourage the formation of Organised Science Schools (now called Schools of Science), in which a continuous course of Scientific Instruction

should be given through several years. At first the growth of these schools was extremely slow. In 1885 there were¹ only three of them; in 1895, however, there were 112; and in 1897 there were 169. By means of the large bounty which the Department had the means of putting on to their own subjects [amounting in Schools of Science to about £6 per pupil per annum] they were able to hold out great inducements to governing bodies, and to enable their schools to compete on very advantageous terms with others which offered either a course mainly classical, or a course mainly in modern languages and in commercial subjects. The hold which the Department thus secured upon the field of Secondary Education was greatly strengthened by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, which makes the Science and Art Department "the central authority which decides in the case of schools and institutions, or between schools and local authorities, on questions of distribution or grants, sufficiency of provision, and representation on governing bodies."² This linked them to the fourth kind of public authority which now entered upon the distracted scene - the Technical Instruction Committees of County Councils, which administer a sum of about £700,000 a year, for the promotion of "Technical" subjects in classes and

1. *Vide* "Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland," by Graham Balfour, p. 173.

2. *Ibid.* p. 181.

schools. This link was riveted further by the famous Clause VI. of the Science and Art Department's Directory. Besides these four authorities—Charity Commission, School Boards, Science and Art Department, and County Council Technical Instruction Committees—there are certain examining bodies of high standing which, though they have no funds to administer, or grants to offer (on the contrary, they charge considerable fees for their examinations), yet have great influence over many Secondary Schools, and in practice largely determine their curriculum and methods of study. The chief of these are the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, the Oxford Local Examinations Board, the Cambridge Local Examinations Board, the College of Preceptors, and perhaps we might add, in respect of its Matriculation Examination, the University of London. Working with these different authorities there are a multitude of public and private agencies, with an endless variety of institutions. Variety and spontaneity in this region of English Education are elements of extreme value, but they are characteristics also of an "unweeded garden." It should be quite possible to preserve them, and at the same time introduce some order into the chaos, something more "systematic and scientific," which should at least give us clear information as to the full nature and extent of our resources, and make suggestions as to the most economical and

effectual ways of employing them. If we could only get this wilderness thoroughly mapped and surveyed, it would be something towards a wiser treatment of it. For this purpose we need an adequate central authority for secondary education, linked with adequate local authorities. Each must be so equipped and manned as to take supervision of the whole field, of such high character and clear impartiality as to command the confidence of School Boards, Technical Authorities, Charity Commissioners, Universities, and Schools of all descriptions and types, and of such ability and experience as to be able to give general direction to concentrated efforts after our essential purpose viz., the creation and diffusion among our people of "an idea of systematic knowledge," and of "sound and intellectual habit."

Defects (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*), in staff, curriculum, and buildings and equipment, can only very briefly be treated here. It is plain that, as Mr Bryce pointed out eight years ago (in "Studies in Secondary Education") everything must turn upon our gradually obtaining a body of teachers so trained as to make the mental habit, many-sided interest and many-sided capability, the power of concentrated thought, of "investigation, method, and preparation," the main object of their work, instead of the present ceaseless cramming for unwisely conducted examinations. The registration and training of qualified teachers, the supervision of

examination and inspection, are clearly functions of a strong central authority for Secondary Education. Without these, we shall have gained little or nothing. The same applies to the registration of efficient schools, and to the inspection of buildings and equipment. These duties need not all be carried out in detail by the central authority, which may very well delegate some of its powers to bodies of competent academic standing. But it is for the central authority to assure itself that their academic standing is competent, and that they are conducting examinations and inspections upon intelligible principles, clearly related to the great end of all our educational efforts. If, in this way, we have once established a high authoritative Department, able to collect and to publish information and to call for explanations, its very existence will put all lesser bodies into some kind of relation to itself, and therefore to one another, and we shall be well on our way to an organised variety of education, as distinct on the one side from our present chaos, and on the other from a dead and monotonous uniformity, such as follows from an "over-centralised" system.

III.

When we come to consider, in the light first of the true purpose of educational reform, and second of the existing state of our resources (so far as they

are known), the proposed action of the Government in regard to secondary education, we shall have much reason for disquiet and for energetic effort to secure its amendment. The Board of Education Act takes effect from April 1, 1900. By that Act a Central Authority in Education of all grades is created. We have been officially promised (by the Lord President of the Council) that the new Department shall be organised in three sections, with an assistant-secretary at the head of each, and with a secretary-general at the head of the whole. The three sections are to be Primary, Technological, and Secondary. The Primary Section will be practically the same in scope and powers as the existing Education Department, and will administer the Public Elementary Schools, in communication with School Boards and Voluntary Managers, throughout the country. The only point of difficulty that is likely to arise in regard to its "sphere of influence" will come up in connection with the Higher Grade Board Schools. Are these to be treated as Secondary Schools, or as "Ecole Primaires Supérieures"? There is much to be said on both sides, but in all probability least dislocation and confusion will be caused by keeping them under the Primary Section. But it will be one of the most delicate functions of the Secretary-General to secure that these schools may be so administered as not to overlap in a wasteful and mischievous manner with Secondary Schools in

their neighbourhood, but to fulfil their true functions as Higher Primary Schools. But as between the other two sections of the new Board—the Technological and the Secondary—there is grave risk that the Government action may do more harm than good, and may serve to perpetuate just exactly those evils of confusion and misunderstanding which rendered the work of re-organisation so plainly necessary. The functions of a Technological Section are clear. It should deal with pupils whose general, or "liberal," education is completed, and who have begun to specialise in some special branch of "applied science"—such as engineering, or agriculture, or chemical manufacture. It is a *specialist* section, and by its very point of view is precluded from superintending an "all round" course of study, whether that course of study has science as its centre, or whether it has modern languages and commercial subjects, or, again, the "humanities" and literature as its main staple. A technological course pre-supposes a good "all-round" education, and must be ineffectual without it. Everyone is agreed upon that. And in these days when we are being called upon (with some plausibility) to "Germanise"¹ our education, we cannot too often remind ourselves that the German Secondary Schools are *not* technological in character. Anyone who takes the trouble to

1. *e.g.*, by Sir Swire Smith, at the meeting of the Association of Technical Institutes, January, 1900.

read Mr. Sadler's admirable account of the Higher Schools in Prussia (published in the Education Department's "Special Reports") can see from the detailed account of curriculum and time-table, and from the statistics of school-numbers, first that the majority of Prussian High Schools are still "Gymnasien," with a course of study mainly classical and humanistic, though wider and more liberal than that of most of our classical schools, and second that the minority, the Real-Schulen, have, as the staple of their course, not so much natural science, though that is thoroughly taught, as modern languages, with history and geography. Now, no step could well be more fatal than to "technologise" (if one may use a bad term for a bad thing) our Secondary Schools. Nothing could be more opposed to the German practice. The Science and Art Department has hitherto, through no fault of its own, constantly been placed in false positions. It was called upon to draw up schemes of drawing for Primary Schools, knowing nothing of Primary Schools, nor of the very peculiar educational problem which is involved in the devising of schemes of drawing for little children between the ages of five and twelve. Therefore, its schemes have been, in great degree, a failure, and the Department has very properly been relieved of so inappropriate a function. So again, by the force of circumstances, and in sheer absence of any other central authority, the same Department has had

Secondary Schools of a certain type under its control. It was never officered nor equipped to deal with an "all round" education, and therefore its administration of Secondary Schools has been inevitably one-sided, and its examinations have fostered, not the "scientific spirit" and "the idea of systematic knowledge," but the very opposite of these qualities. We need not blame the Department for this, any more than we can reasonably blame an officer of infantry, who is put to administer the ordnance, if he does not successfully manage artillery. It is the system of organisation, in both cases, which is to blame. In both cases our clear duty is to extricate well-intentioned officials from impossible situations, and to leave them to the discharge of their proper functions. If the Science and Art Department, in its new guise as the Technological Section of the Office of Education is left in charge of the so-called Schools of Science, with a grant at its disposal which enables it to offer a bounty of £5 a head or more per annum on all pupils who adopt its curriculum; while on the other hand the Secondary Section is inadequately manned and unprovided with funds, then the new organisation will be a cause of much evil to English education.

Exactly the same danger threatens in another direction. The Government foreshadows, in the Queen's Speech, legislation by which local authorities will be established definitely for Secondary

Education. The promise is so worded as to suggest that it is intended to recognise the existing Technical Instruction Committees of County Councils as the local authorities. But these committees were appointed, and their "organising secretaries" selected, for very different functions. It is true that they have done much for Secondary Schools, and much that they have done has been highly beneficial. But it is notorious that in many cases they have adopted a very decided line of educational policy which has brought them into conflict, open or concealed, on the one hand with School Boards and on the other hand with the authorities of Secondary Schools. They have created institutions of their own, which they very reasonably do their best to foster; but, in so doing they put themselves more or less in competition with other bodies, who also have institutions of their own. These bodies will very naturally be aggrieved if their competitors are, by law, set in authority over them. They have, on the whole, taken a "technological" line, a very useful line, no doubt, but a "specialist" line, wholly distinct from that which is required in dealing with the great body of Secondary Schools. The "technological" view is supplementary to a secondary education; if prematurely introduced, it is inimical to a secondary education and incompatible with it. If Matthew Arnold could have foreseen that his repeated cry, "Organise your Secondary Education"

might one day be answered by placing Secondary Schools under the authority of the Science and Art Department, linked to Technical Instruction Committees, he would have stilled his voice, and have chosen the disease rather than the proffered remedy.

The objection to such a solution of the problem does not lie merely in the fact that these Committees have, quite properly, a special bias of their own and that they stand committed to a particular policy, but also that the areas which they control are not educational areas, in respect, at least, of secondary education. Great towns like Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield drain, as it were, well-defined educational basins, which are not co-terminous with the areas of County Councils and County Boroughs, and which would be cut up in all directions by them. The Councils and Boroughs together make a far larger number of authorities than are necessary or desirable. In France the number of local authorities for secondary education is only 17, and it may well be doubted whether, for England, we require any more. If it is necessary to adopt the existing rating area as the unit, there is nothing, at any rate, to prevent the formation, by statute, of combinations of such units for purposes of the control of secondary education. The County and Borough Councils might then elect representatives to serve on the combined Board, with the assistance of co-

opted members to represent Universities and Higher Schools. It should in this way be possible to secure Boards that would take a wide and impartial view of educational problems, Boards such as would command the respect and confidence of every style and stamp of educational institution throughout the country.

The task of founding adequate educational authorities is a great one, and needs to be approached magnanimously, and with a due sense of the vital issues involved in it for the future well-being of the country. If it is done pettily and on lines of mere official convenience, the present Government will, by a sin of omission worse than any of commission, shrink from the worthy performance of that which is, perhaps, its highest duty. In their hour of deepest trouble, and of acutest financial stress, first Germany, and later France, turned to their system of education to discover and to remedy the secret of their weakness. To improve their education they expended both money, which they could ill spare, and energy which nations less enlightened might have devoted to merely military organisation. They had their reward in an amazing national recovery. Is England to appear incapable of a similar sacrifice and a similar foresight? If not, Englishmen must, at whatever cost of effort, make sure that their new organisation, local and central, shall possess the character and the efficiency adequate to a most difficult task.

Work and Play

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN WORK AND PLAY.¹

In a valuable address recently delivered to this Society by Mr. Graham Wallas,² emphasis was laid on the importance of the distinction between work and play, and the criticism of a clever boy upon a Kindergarten was quoted--namely, that "in this school they don't work when they work, nor play when they play." The point is vital, and I propose to discuss it with you, in the belief that one can be more useful by following a lead suggested by some previous lecturer than by going off on some wholly new line of one's own, to the destruction of all continuity of thinking.

To understand the distinction between work and play is of consequence to all students of education, but, in particular, to those who regard Froebel as their master, because he is specially identified in English and American popular opinion with a belief in the educative value of play. Not that this belief originated with him. Rousseau, Locke, Montaigne, among other moderns; Plato, most conspicuously among the ancients, had written at greater length than Froebel upon the subject of

¹ Summary of an address delivered to the Froebel Society on October 28th, 1901.

² Reported in the July number of *Child Life*, 1901.

play in education.¹ But the "Anglo-Saxon" mind is impressed not so much with written theory on education—of which, indeed, it remains for the most part ignorant—as with a working institution, which it can watch in operation. This institution is furnished by the Kindergarten; and it is, therefore, with the founder of the Kindergarten that we usually associate the idea that play educates. On this very ground, one of the latest critics of the Kindergarten, the admirable humourist "Mr. Dooley," in his "Philosophy," attacks the system for its alleged want of seriousness and grip on the actualities of life. What children mainly need to get, he says, is a "strangle-hold," that is an intense power of concentration on the business in hand, whether it is interesting or not. This they can never acquire by following their own caprices, and playing at work. And "Mr. Dooley" concludes with the aphorism that "it doesn't matter what you teach children, so long as they don't want to learn it."

So far as criticisms of this kind are aimed at Froebel personally, they overlook the fact that the Kindergarten embodies only a portion of his educational theory, and was intended to provide for only a comparatively short section of the

¹ For an excellent summary of the opinions of great writers on this matter see "Das Spiel in der Geschichte der Pädagogik," which forms the second section of G. A. Colozza's "Psychologie und Pädagogik des Kinderspiels" (German translation and notes by Chr. Ufer).

period of growth. That whole period was divided by him into four stages:—(1) the nursling, up to the age of two and a half or three years; (2) the child, from three to seven years; (3) the boy or girl, from seven to sixteen or seventeen; (4) the youth or maiden, from seventeen to full age. Of these, the child stage, from the age of two or three to that of seven or eight, he calls the stage of play or speech, during which, as he phrases it, the child is chiefly occupied in “making the inner outer”; that is, in arriving at self-expression through movement and utterance. The next stage, that of the boy and girl, is specially the work stage, during which the growing mind “makes the outer inner”: that is, masters its surroundings, learns to understand them, and, in time, to control them.

Thus our distinction is one on which Froebel himself lays stress. There is nothing in his writings to suggest that he ever confused play and work. Yet many people would agree with “Mr. Dooley” in saying that, if not Froebel, at least the Froebelians, have been guilty of this confusion. It seems well worth while, therefore, to grapple with the distinction, and to aim at arriving at clear ideas upon four main questions:—(a) In what points does play differ from work? (b) What light have recent biological investigations thrown upon the nature of play and its educative value? (c) What is the relation of play to other educative activities, and what is the specific function of play?

in education? (d) What is the bearing of all this on school practice, and especially on the practice of Kindergartens?

It is evident that, within the limits of a brief address, the questions can only receive incomplete and provisional answers: yet even answers of this kind may be of some service as a preparation for further study.

(a) In what points does play differ from work?

In trying for an answer to a question of definition such as this, we are most likely to arrive at the simplest and broadest truths by following the old Greek method of examining commonly-received ideas embodied in stories, proverbs, and ordinary usages of words. Thus it is striking to find that the conception of *work* is often associated in early forms of religious belief with the idea of a fall, by which mankind passed from a state of innocence to that of a consciousness of good and evil, accompanied by a necessity, till then unknown, of labouring for food. The ancient poets conceived of the earliest Golden Age as one in which there was no work and no exchange of goods, when the earth was un-tilled and the sea was untravelled. Such an age, they conceived, should some day return, when time had passed through an entire cycle:—

“Omnis feret omnia tellus,
Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem,
Robustis quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator.”

Thus our human life was conceived of as lying between a Paradise Lost of innocence and a Paradise Regained of ultimate victory and restoration. This intermediate state is one of labour and sorrow in accordance with the curse—"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"—denounced against the first man who ate of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Heaven, on the other hand, was conceived of as a state of existence in which endeavour was to be replaced by fruition and faith by love—a state of occupation, no doubt, but of spontaneous and entirely happy occupation, where live the souls in bliss:—

" In solemn troops and sweet societies
That sing, and singing in their glory move."

Whatever other meaning we may attach to these conceptions, it is clear that they symbolize the spiritual truth that uneasiness and effort are signs of imperfect adjustment: while enjoyable activity is an anticipation of that harmonized service which is perfect freedom; and, further, that in activity of either an extremely simple or of an extremely developed type the distinction between work and play does not arise, or arises only to be absorbed in a self-prompted energy which contains both. This is evidently true of infants, who are intensely and seriously busy in a number of ways, which we cannot classify under either the head of work or

the head of play. It is true also of certain forms of adult activity—*e.g.*, of a mother's laborious tending of her children, of a painter's pre-occupation with his studies, of the ceaseless practice of a devoted musician. Such forms of activity would be called work by some, because they imply responsible effort which it is the duty of the persons engaged in them to expend; by others they would be called play, because they are in each case the thing of all others that these persons love to do. They are self-expressive; they are, in the fullest sense of the words, *free* and *spontaneous*. The truth seems to be that such higher activities are both work and play in one. In the same way a teacher who is truly fond of children and of the subjects which she teaches never finds her work *mere* work. It is, at least, partly self-expressive; duty and spontaneity are harmonized in it, and for intervals, at any rate, the teacher is in the *Paradise Regained* where the distinction is lost. It is only when, owing to some maladjustment or other, the activity becomes sheer strain and drudgery, that she falls to earth again. It is, however, only in the higher arts that such a fusion of work and play becomes possible. In many forms of activity there is so slight an amount of spontaneity and self-expression, that nothing but contract and obligation can avail to keep people steadily employed upon them. The clerk who enters figures all day long in books cannot, unless he is a

Tim Linkinwater, have any doubt in his mind as to whether he is really working or playing; so must it be with a stoker in a stoke-hole, with a factory-hand who attends, year in and year out, to a particular corner of a huge piece of machinery, with a shop-girl, or a type-writer, or a bricklayer. And that is why leisure and play are of such importance to these persons, and ought to be so largely considered in their education.

Even so, however, it is not easy to come at the essential difference between work and play. Herbert Spencer would make it consist in this: that work has to do with what directly affects the increase of means to live, the life-preserving activities; while play is concerned with matters less vital. This is exactly parallel to the distinction in economics between productive and unproductive expenditure. Neither distinction, however, will stand investigation. The amount of human energy or of human wealth expended upon simply *preserving* life is relatively small; the greater quantity of both goes to *improving* life in some way or other, and, whether the improvement takes the form of a tunnel through the Alps, or of a water-colour painting, or of a shapely bonnet, or of the perfect singing of a song, men will be willing to give something for it, if only, in their opinion, it makes life better worth having. The money or the energy expended on the making of a cathedral is just as productive as that spent upon

ploughing a cornfield or making an arm-chair, since it satisfies a human need. It seems vain to look for the difference between work and play here, unless we are going to take as simple a view of the world as a certain tobacconist whom I once overheard speaking to a cornet-player. The poor minstrel had been laboriously playing his instrument for twenty minutes in the rain outside the tobacconist's cosy shop; but, when he asked for money, "No, I've nothing for you," said the shopman; "*We 'ave to work for what *we* gets*"

Still less will it do to say that work is that part of our activity for which we are paid—since this would exclude all that vast quantity of gratuitous labour, which every one would call work, such as that of Sunday-school teachers, or members of Parliament, or governors of hospitals, or officers of Volunteers.

We might spend much more time in examining other proposed grounds of distinction, such as that play is "free" and "pleasurable," while work is "constrained" and "not directly motived by pleasure"; but our limits compel us instead to state a provisional definition dogmatically, and only to indicate roughly the reasons for its adoption and for the rejections of others.

Work is an expenditure of energy in pursuit of a required end, an object outside itself. This object may either be set by superior force of others, as in human slavery or in the servitude of domestic

animals; or it may be arranged by contract and bargain, as in the different forms of paid labour; or it may be imposed by the worker's own sense of duty or obligation, as in religious or philanthropic work; or it may be fixed by the needs or desires of the worker, as in the case of a peasant proprietor who tills his own soil for his own sustenance, or of a pianist who repeats the same musical phrase a thousand times, not because he specially enjoys it, but to improve his mastery of his instrument.

Play¹ is an expenditure of energy with no further intentional end than the action itself, like the gambols of a kitten or the running and jumping of boys let loose from school. Such an expenditure may be caused by an overflow of accumulated force, or by such an instinctive desire for exercise as appears to be a physiological correlative of growth, or by imitation, or by suggestion, or by other motives. But its characteristic mark is that it is performed for its own sake, and not for an ulterior object: thus spontaneity and a sense of pleasure (which *may* also accompany work) necessarily accompany play. But it is important to notice that pleasure is not the object of play. A boy runs because he wants to *run*, not because he wants to be pleased. The pleasure follows or

¹ The distinction here adopted is, of course, Greek. Play is an αἰτοτελῆς πρᾶξις, and so far resembles the highest forms of moral and intellectual activity · it is desirable for its own sake.

accompanies, does not precede the act. On these grounds the definition of play quoted from Rayneri by Chr. Ufer on page 6 of his translation of Colozza's work appears defective: "Alles dessen, dem sich der Mensch freiwillig zum Vergnugen hingiebt."

Even with this distinction before us, we shall often find it hard to classify activities. Thus football is a form of play or sport; but when it is compulsory, or is played professionally, it may become work, and sometimes a sordid form of work. Even the element of competition tends to make play less playful, in so far as it is allowed to make the *winning* of the game more of an object than the *playing* of the game. The feeling of many people that "leagues" and "cups" and "records" and "averages" tend to injure the character of sport is based on solid ground. Similarly with the element of chance or hazard, an element universally found in some kinds of play—as soon as palpable profit turns upon the fall of the cards or the cast of the die, an ingredient that speedily proves fatal to true "play" has been introduced, an external object which may absorb the whole interest of the so-called "player." So also with the desire for sympathy or applause, a feeling that accompanies most forms of play. This quickly degenerates into "showing off" and "playing to the gallery," when the external object dominates the player's mind.

But, besides this objective distinction, which may be expressed by saying that play is a self-contained activity, while work is undertaken with a view to some further end, it is also the case that there is a subjective or psychological difference between the *moods* of men and animals when at work and at play. The sense of tension and responsibility which enters into the working frame of mind is replaced in play by a feeling of light-heartedness and relaxation. The general truth of this is, indeed, modified by the elements of competition and the desire to excel, combined with the great complexity which distinguishes some modern forms of play. Thus an English public-school boy plays cricket with an intense solemnity and absorption which he does not always bring to bear upon what he calls his "work." And some people would even deny the very name of "play" to such a game as chess, on the ground that the characteristic mood of its "players" is deep concentration, marked by extreme physical immobility. Still, speaking broadly, we may allow that a mental state of freedom and enjoyment is characteristic of play, and one of fixity and effort is characteristic of work. In their extremes, where one of the two states becomes generally dominant in a character, there arises, on one side, an habitual irresponsibility and "devil-may-carelessness"; and, on the other, a settled anxiety and sternness. These two

temperaments make a rich contrast, such as we find in history in the types of Cavalier and Puritan; or in literature, as in Shakespeare's comparison of Cassius and Antony, placed in the mouth of Julius Cæsar:—

"Let me have men about me that are fat,
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights.
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

.

He reads much,
He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men: he loves no plays¹
As thou dost, Antony; he hears no music;
Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort
As if he mock'd himself and scorn'd his spirit
That could be moved to smile at anything."

(b) We must now turn to our second question. What light have recent biological investigations thrown upon the nature of play and its educative value? For a full answer to this question we must go to the two great works of Karl Groos, "The Games of Animals," and "The Games of Men," which were published at Jena in 1896 and 1899 respectively, and which have both been translated into English. An excellent summary of the theories of Groos will be found in Chr. Ufer's introduction to his translation of the

¹ Games.

admirable book of Colozza's, which has been several times referred to—"Psychologie und Padagogik des Kinderspiels" (published by Oskar Bonde, at Altenburg, 1900).

Here I can only put one or two main points very briefly. Among animals low down on the scale of life, *e.g.*, the reptiles, individuals come into the world in such a condition that they are fairly well able to take care of themselves. Among these we find few or no traces of play. On the other hand, among animals of more complicated structure the young are born in a helpless state, and take some little time before they can "fend for themselves." During their period of growth we find various forms of "play," bodily movements which are just of the kind best fitted to strengthen the limbs, quicken the senses, and prepare the whole organism for its later activities. Thus, in a beast of prey, like the cat or the weasel, the games of the young ones take the form sometimes of a hunt, sometimes of a sham fight. On the other hand, in animals whose future survival will depend upon their speed, such as deer, rabbits, or wild sheep, the games often assume the form of running, leaping, dodging, and wheeling. Play is thus the *active aspect of growth*, which gives an animal the fuller and fuller use of its powers; it is the practice, exercise, and experimentation which precede the regular employment of the limbs and senses. The German of Karl Groos puts this main

point very neatly; play is the *Vorubung* and the *Einubung* which must go before *Ausubung*. Thus play appears as the functioning of hereditary, innate instincts, which can only come to perfection through this preliminary use. In the case of the highest animals, and, above all, of Man, *imitation* becomes an important element in play, and so also do its gregarious or *social* aspects.

It will be realised at once that in these views of Karl Groos, confirmed as they are by a mass of careful observations, we have a scientific basis for a belief in the educative force of play, such as Froebel could only dimly and imperfectly anticipate; since, as Mr. Graham Wallas showed you, his conception of evolution was that of his own age, and was necessarily defective in that it did not reckon with the influence of environment through natural selection.

It is an obvious corollary of this view that, in the different forms of play adopted by children in their various stages of growth, the general progress of the whole race is recapitulated, or, as an American writer (L. Gulick, in the October, 1898, number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, quoted by Chr. Ufer) expresses it, "Play is the ontogenetic rehearsal of the phylogenetic series." This is just an application of the Herbartian "culture epochs" theory to the sphere of play.

A further, though very different confirmation by recent scientific investigation of Froebel's

belief in the importance of play is to be found in the proofs furnished by experimental psychology that pleasurable activity stimulates and heightens the vitality of children. This was current opinion long ago; but it is now scientific fact, measured and recorded.

(c) We must now hurry on to our third question: What is the relation of play to other forms of educative activity, and what is its specific function in education? As we have seen, the answer to this question, as regards infants, is plain enough. It may be said of them, as of young animals, that play is their education and education is their play. The use of their senses and limbs in tasting, seeing, hearing, and handling is a form of experimentation of which the wise educator, inspired by Froebel and guided by science, will take the fullest advantage. Up to the age of four or five, indeed, it is, perhaps, truer to say (as suggested at the beginning of this address) that the distinction between work and play does not yet arise, but that the movements and utterances of the child, under the watchful care of mother or teacher, are play and work in one.

Gradually, however, the distinction becomes valuable and even indispensable. For instance, the little child learns to dress and wash itself. At first this is play; but, as the child's strength and skill increase, it must also be work. Even when it no longer amuses the child, as a new sensation, to

brush its own hair, yet it must continue to do so as work; that is, for the sake of an ulterior object—its own neatness and the approval of others. So with other activities; practised first of all as play, for their own sake, with the help of impulse and curiosity, they must be kept up as work for the sake of further ends, even when the caprice of the moment is against their performance. Cleanliness, for example, may be an instinct with some children; but with most it is only a habit, which, in its earliest stages, must have a strong element of work in its composition. At the same time, common sense and the desire for economy of effort will combine with educational philosophy in recommending that the transition from impulsive, instinctive action to regulated, intentional action should be made as gently as possible, and should be restricted at first to a number of simple and easily intelligible acts, where even an infant can grasp the purpose for which they are to be done. Thus, slowly and distinctly, will the child come to the knowledge of good and evil, the "everlasting yea" and the "everlasting nay," the thing that must on no account be left undone, and the thing that must on no account be done. Thus, little by little, grows the power of inhibition, and with it the power of attention, the negative and positive poles of the will. Thus is founded the strong character, at once energetic and loyal, full of initiative, yet self-controlled—the character that

may readily pass through the gates of effort and obedience into the Paradise Regained of healthy and absorbed activity.

It is of great importance, therefore, to bear in mind that, when we speak of the supreme value of play at the Kindergarten stage, *we are not thinking of play in antithesis to work, but rather of play as the most convenient name for the total sum of self-activity in the child*. This self-activity resembles play, in that it is pursued for its own sake and as the expression of inner impulse; but it resembles work in so far as it is quite earnestly carried on, and is the most strenuous form of action of which the child is, at that stage, capable.

When once the antithesis has arisen, and the child's eyes are opened to know good and evil, then the child must be accustomed from time to time, in gradually lengthened periods, to attack a *task* with entire attention, and not to take its mind off until that task has been completed. Hence comes the mental grip, the "triangle-hold," which our friend "Mr. Dooley" justly looks for as one result of a sound training. Yet this paradox, that "it doesn't matter what you teach children, so long as they don't want to learn it," is just as certainly a fatal extreme as that excessive indulgence to caprice which it is intended to correct. And from both of these extremes a sound study of Froebel ought to preserve us. Work need never be irrational servitude, and the highest forms of work

admit of the greatest amount of self-expression, and therefore of true freedom, relieved from "the weight of chance desires." Thanks, in great measure, to Froebel, the whole world is coming to see that the work of the little child must be most delicately adapted to its stage of growth, and must give full scope to its budding instincts, its love of muscular movement, of variety, of constructiveness, of living animals and plants, of pictures, and of cheerful sights and sounds. There is no reason why this should impair the seriousness and the mental concentration which work ought always to imply. On the contrary, the "strangle-hold" is far easier to get upon some subject which, to begin with, appeals to child-nature. So frail and wavering is the little child's power of continuous attention that we need not be afraid that we can ever make work "too interesting," if it be genuine *work*, i.e., energy devoted to a definite object.

On the other hand, there seems no doubt that in most of our schools for children from seven to fourteen the course of study is still far too abstract and ill-adapted to growing minds. The sixth volume of Mr. Sadler's "Special Reports on Educational Subjects" shows that in many of our chief preparatory schools for boys the merest fragments of time are on the average devoted to such subjects as English language and literature, drawing, geography, history, natural science, manual work, and the other topics which really

answer to the instincts and needs of boys of that age. Most of their energy is given to learning three foreign languages from a grammatical point of view. This is an adoption of "Mr. Dooley's" paradox with a vengeance, and its results may be seen in the lack of intellectual interest and keenness in a large proportion of the boys who have had the "best education that money can buy."

Truly there is still a vast deal of work to be done by a Froebel Society which works for the spirit and substance, not for the letter and form, of Froebel's teaching. The elements of *self-activity* and *self-possession* have yet to receive their proper scope in many of our schools for older children.

These elements—which may, if folks please, be called the play-elements in work—distinguish true work from meaningless and stupefying drudgery. It is all the more essential that they should enter into the work of our schools, because they have, to a large extent, ceased to enter into the play. As Mr. Rooper pointed out long ago in his charming book on "School and Home," the prevalence of some half-a-dozen great games in English schools, to the destruction of all other pastimes, hobbies, and amusements, has had some deplorable results. Cricket and football played upon pitches prepared by "groundmen" are, after all, stereotyped and monotonous, if contrasted with the total range of young activities which they have killed out.

Grand games as they are, they give scope to a comparatively few fine qualities, such as courage, decision, and the like; and altogether starve a number of others scarcely less important, such as constructiveness, curiosity, ingenuity, the power of continuous thinking, the power of working to a plan. Now that these games are not merely obligatory on all, but that the day is so arranged that there is very little time or spare energy for anything but compulsory work and compulsory games, certain forms of the play-spirit have deserted these schools altogether, and there is little or no scope in them for variety of occupation, for initiative, for a thoughtful boy's "hobby." It may be seriously questioned whether the minute regulation of a boy's or girl's time-table has not been pushed too far. The experience of the present war has led people to ask whether the devotion of all leisure to slightly different types of games is a good preparation for the difficulties of life, which need versatility, trained attention, and the power of thinking out, and working out, a plan. If Waterloo was won on our playing-fields, may it not be in a certain sense true that Colenso was lost there?

These are grave matters, not to be settled lightly. But I feel no doubt that those schools for boys and girls are right which vary the eternal pursuit of games of ball with other occupations, such as the learning of some handi-

craft, the playing of a musical instrument, simple forms of farm and dairy work, surveying, map-making, cookery, and the like. Such forms of play bring into use many dexterities, which, if not exercised in childhood, are apt to perish by atrophy. They lay the foundation of hobbies and tastes which may remain a source of ever-fresh delight, even "forty years on," when football has long ceased to be a possibility. And, at the present moment, they give a boy something pleasant to do, even when he cannot find twenty-one other boys to kick a ball with him¹

(d) Our fourth question, How does all this bear upon school practice, and particularly on the practice of Kindergartens? can only be touched upon. To begin with, we have already seen that there is good reason for thinking that a too mechanical conception of work still prevails in many of our schools, and that much can be done to bring the curriculum into closer touch with the instincts and interests of child-nature. A great deal is being attempted already. The *neuere Richtung*, or reform method of teaching modern languages, is a system conceived entirely in the spirit of Froedel. So also is the movement for more "practical methods" in teaching mathematics, for which Professor Perry is doing

¹ An interesting account of Bedales School, near Petersfield, which is one of the Schools where other forms of play in addition to "games" are encouraged, will be found in M. Edmond Demolins' book, "La Nouvelle Education."

so much. No doubt these methods have their characteristic dangers—the “play” element may easily become too strong, as it does sometimes in so-called “heuristic” science methods. But, in contrast with what they replace—the meaningless memorising of misunderstood formulæ—they are an immense improvement, and further experience will show us how to avoid their dangers.

As for Kindergartens, I would venture to ask whether, in some of them, the development of the spirit of “work” is not artificially delayed later than is advisable, and whether the habit of continuous, absorbed attention gets enough practice among the older children? I would also ask whether the type of “play” often used in action-plays is really “play” at all, or something invented by “grown-ups” to look like play? Certainly it does not look like Karl Groos’s “biological play”; it is not an anticipation by the young organism of the sort of situations and movements which will afterwards occur in “real life.” This “biological play” is found among children when they are left to themselves, and when they act in “make-believe” armies and wedding processions, and Church services, and shopping, and house-building, and the like. But I never saw a child, left to itself, act the part of a daisy, or a tree with the leaves rustling, or any of the other vegetable or inanimate objects which it is supposed to represent in many “action-plays.”

These are not instinctive, self-expressive games; they are not play, they are not work. The words in which they are written are often inexcusably feeble and drivelling, and the music with which they are accompanied is sometimes not even tenth-rate. A good many of them want "reforming altogether."

This is a matter of vital importance to us as a nation. Who can watch a number of young men and women of the working classes let loose for a holiday without feeling that their education—in spite of all our boasted "games"—has not taught them to play? They have, in too many cases, no resources, no pastimes, no hobbies, no pleasant and graceful ways of "fleeting time carelessly, as they did in the golden days." Their singing is a discordant yell, their movements are clumsy and violent. They seem wholly without that training for a free and worthy enjoyment of leisure which Plato considered one of the chief aims of education. Just at the present time every one cries out for "technical and commercial instruction" that our people may learn to *work*. We have still to discover that, even from the point of view of vital efficiency, it is no less indispensable that they should also be trained in desirable forms of *play*.

*POSTSCRIPT—The above article was in type before Mr. Rudyard Kipling's famous poem

* Added when the above summary was printed as an article in *Child Life*.

appeared in the *Times* of January 4. It is unfortunate that he should have put his views of the weak side of our national games in so personal and unrestrained a form. His two main points—namely, that cricket and footbal are not in themselves an adequate training for the paramount duty of our national defence, and that excessive devotion to them (especially among those who only "look on") dissipates the power of continuous, constructive, mental application—appear to me to be true, and to require, at the present moment, energetic expression.

Bacon

SUMMARY OF A LECTURE ON BACON'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.

Delivered at the Franco-English Guild, April 18, 1901.

1. *Introduction* The Guild, an institution with which Bacon would have sympathized. His scheme for international communication of ideas. The "Merchant of Light" in the "New Atlantis." He himself spent two years in France

2. Writings in which Bacon's philosophy of life is to be studied : Essays, Letters, "New Atlantis," Apophthegms, "Meditationes Sacrae," "De sapientia veterum"

3. Criticisms and commentaries for consultation :

(a) French :

- (i) Bacon, sa vie etc. C. de Rémusat.
- (ii) La Philosophie de F. Bacon par Charles Adam.
- (iii) Study of Bacon's Philosophy by Barthelemy St. Hilaire.

(b) English :

- (i) Collected Works ed. Spedding and Ellis.
- (ii) Bacon, by Dr. E. A. Abbott.

- (iii) Macaulay's Essay on Bacon.
- (iv) R. W. Church in "English Men of Letters."

4. Relation of Bacon's life to his opinion on Human Conduct. B. not a mere "savant" but also a man of the world and a statesman, in an epoch of intense activity. Born 1561, died 1626. His life may be divided into three periods:—

- (a) 1561—1603. Forty-two years of comparative obscurity during the lifetime of Queen Elizabeth. At Cambridge 1573—1575. In France 1576—1579. Enters Parliament 1584. Intimacy with Essex 1591—1600.
- (b) 1603—1621 Eighteen years of busy public life. Rise and fall Married 1606 Solicitor General 1607. Attorney General 1613. Attaches himself to the rising favourite George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham 1615. Became Lord Chancellor 1618. Made a Peer 1618. His fall on the charge of having received bribes 1621.
- (c) 1621—1626. Five years in Disgrace. Literary and Scientific Activity.

5. With these three periods correspond the three Editions of the Essays.

- (a) 1597, containing ten only.
- (b) 1612, containing thirty-eight.

(c) 1625, containing fifty-eight.

Other chief literary and scientific works
Advancement of Learning 1605, Novum
Organum 1620, History of Henry VII. 1622.
De Augmentis and New Atlantis 1623.

6. In the essays may be traced the influence of certain great personalities with whom Bacon was brought into close contact, especially.

(a) His parents, Sir Nicholas Bacon, a trusty statesman and a man of business, and Anne Cooke, an accomplished and learned woman, of strong Puritan opinions and energetic character.

(b) Queen Elizabeth, whom he admired and feared, and who seems to have disliked him; King James I. whose extreme views of the royal prerogative he supported.

(c) His near relations, the Cecils, crafty and practical politicians.

(d) Two royal favourites Essex, his friend and champion, a courtier, warrior and scholar of brilliant and noble qualities, to whom Bacon was disloyal; Buckingham, dashing, selfish, shallow, to whose evil influence Bacon gave support.

(e) Sir Edward Coke, his rival in law and in courtship, who overwhelmed Bacon by superior audacity, physical vigour, and practical powers

7. From his letters and his life, we may gather that he was precociously solemn ("my little Lord Keeper" as Queen Elizabeth called him as a boy); intensely fond of reading; physically delicate; deficient in strength of character, self-respect and courage; lacking in passion as a lover and a friend; keenly sensitive and observant; ambitious and fond of display; inclined to intrigue and not over scrupulous. Starting with lofty ideals, derived from his mother's influence and from his own high imagination and splendid intellectual powers, he lacked the virility and will to carry out these ideals in action. Hence the double vein of feeling in the Essays; hence a certain sombre tone of discouragement, lit up, from time to time, by a glow of the noblest thoughts. Plunged into the life of a court, such as that which Shakespeare's "Hamlet" describes, he resembles Polonius in the excellence of his maxims, in the coldness of his heart, and in the failure of his intrigues.

8. *His Essays* should be re-arranged for purposes of study, under certain great heads such as Religion, Politics, Society, etc., etc. They represent "axiomata media," rough generalisations from experience, observations collected with a view to an Inductive and Experimental Philosophy of Human Conduct. They are not meant to be systematic or methodical. In style they are Hebraic, full of allegory and metaphor, condensed, sombre, profound, impersonal.

9. Bacon, a man of the Renaissance, a European as well as an Englishman. Nationalities and national characteristics less differentiated then, than now. Comparison with Montaigne.

- (a) Points of Similarity. Contemporaries (Bacon was 31 when Montaigne died), both studied law, both disliked it and desired its reform and simplification, both went to court; both showed incapacity for action; both despised subtle and argumentative erudition and advocated education of the body, the character and the judgment, rather than of the memory; both delighted in anecdote and quotation, and in a style full of images and "picture phrases"; both were tolerant and large minded.
- (b) Points of difference. Montaigne is talkative, intimate, frank, personal; he admits his own weakness and disarms us by his candour, his friendship for La Boétie is full of poetry and passion. Bacon is more sublime and profound, more objective, more concise; a great thinker, but less sincere and less lovable.

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